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HISTORY OF ROME

AND

THE ROMAN PEOPLE.

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HISTORY OF ROME

AND

THE ROMAN PEOPLE,

FROM ITS ORIGIN TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CHRISTIAN EMPIRE,

B. 226

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BY

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ILLUSTRATED WITH ABOUT 2500 ENGRAVINGS, 100 MAPS AND PLANS, AND NUMEROUS CHROMO-LITHOGRAPHS.

VOLUME II.—PART I.

(FROM THE BATTLE OF ZAMA TO END OF THE FIRST TRIUMVIRATE)

WITH 334 WOOD ENGRAVINGS, 2 MAPS AND 6 CHROMO-LITHOGRAPHS.

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1884.

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PREFATORY NOTE TO VOL. II.

I TAKE the earliest occasion to make two acknowledgments inadvertently omitted from the Preface to Vol. I. I am indebted to M. DURUY for many valuable corrections and notes supplied specially for this edition; also to the kindness of MRS. KEGAN PAUL for permitting the use of three of her Sicilian sketches for the illustrations (pp. 498—9, and 503) in the first volume. They are now all the more valuable as her sketch-book has since been destroyed by fire. M. DURUY wishes me to add that the inscription of Ahenobarbus on p. 488 of this volume is spurious, the pretended discovery being a fraud exposed since the page was printed.

J. P. MAHAFFY.

TRIN. COLL., DUBLIN, MARCH, 1884.

FIFTH PERIOD.

CONQUEST OF THE WORLD (201—133).

CHAPTER XXVI.

CONDITION OF THE ANCIENT WORLD ABOUT THE YEAR 200 B.C.

I.—Italy, Africa, Syria, Egypt.

"IT is as delightful to me," says the historian, "to have come to the end of the Punic war, as if I myself had borne a share of the toil and danger. But my spirit quails before what is to come. . . . I am like those who, tempted by the shallows near the shore, walk into the sea: the further I advance, the more I see before me vast depths and bottomless abysses."[1] Beyond Hannibal, Livy discerned Philip, Antiochus, Viriathus, the kings of Pontus and of Numidia, and the great and noble figure of Vercingetorix the Gaul. Beyond the second Punic war, so simple in its history, yet so majestic in its plan and its results, he saw a century and a half of battles, of disgraceful intrigues, of reverses and of successes, upon the three continents, and he regretted leaving the fair days of the republic to enter upon these endless wars which were to exhaust her military population, to render the great tyrannical, the lowly servile, and to make of liberty a lie.

Sixteen years of devastations and of murderous conflicts had

[1] Livy, xxxi. 1.

impoverished and decimated the peninsula.[1] But the wounds made by war heal quickly in the victorious nation. As early as the year 206, after the battle of the Metaurus, the senate had sent back the labouring population into the fields, reducing the standing army for the sake of leaving more hands for agriculture. Colonies sent into Campania and Bruttium, and the distribution of lands in Lucania and Apulia among Scipio's veterans[2] had re-peopled the wastes made by war;[3] territory also distributed among the creditors of the State had cleared off the debt of the second Punic war, and left free for new enterprises all the resources of the exchequer.[4] With the return of peace Italy was destined to see her prosperity revive, and her mercantile cities inherit the commerce of Carthage. The sea was free to her. As far as the Pillars of Hercules there were only conquered nations or allied peoples, and the Illyrian and Macedonian wars had opened Greek waters to the Italian traders.[6]

Silver Campanian Coin.[5]

No danger seemed to threaten the future; the Roman dominion had emerged all the stronger from the fearful trial of the second Punic war, and all nations turned their anxious gaze towards this formidable power. "Think you that Carthage or that Rome will be content, after the victory, with Italy and Sicily?" said a Greek orator, while the struggle was yet undecided. These fears were

[1] Appian, *Libyca*, 134. *Ἀννίβου τετρακίσια ἐμπρήσαντος ἄστη καὶ μυριάδας ἀνδρῶν τριάκοντα ἐν μόναις μάχαις ἀνελόντος.*

[2] Two acres for each year of service in Spain or Africa; it is said, also, that other grants were made to veterans of the Spanish, Sicilian, and Sardinian wars. (Livy, xxxii. 21.)

[3] These colonies were made at the expense of Hannibal's allies. The Bruttians, the Lucanians, and the Picentines were henceforward employed only as servants, couriers, or messengers. (Aul. Gell., x. 12 and 13; Strabo, v. 251.) Galba, a dictator, passed the whole period of his office in travelling through Italy, determining the fate of the cities.

[4] A rent of one *as* was levied upon these lands, in token that they belonged to the public domain, and could be redeemed by the State.

[5] Head of Minerva, with the laurel-wreathed helmet. On the reverse, ΚΑΜΠΑΝΟ, written from right to left, a bull with human face, and a stork.

[6] I have already spoken repeatedly of the importance of Italian commerce: I will here add that the hundred thousand Romans put to death by Mithridates in Asia Minor were not tourists but speculators. I will also remind the reader that it was these very Roman merchants who, by their influence at Rome, made Marius consul. Commerce and banking created the equestrian order. We shall recur to this subject again.

well founded, for the ambition of Rome was vast, and she had ample means to gratify it. Her generals, trained in the school of Hannibal to war on a large scale, her soldiers, whose discipline and courage we have so often extolled, were without rivals, and no assembly equalled her senate in political sagacity. But, more than her armies, and more than her leaders, it was the weakness of other nations that made the power of Rome.

In Africa, she need only let the jealous hatred of Masinissa have its way, and Carthage would never recover from the defeat of Zama.

In Spain, the legions were soon to fight against their former allies, but this war with races owing their strength to the soil which bore and sheltered them, proved for three-quarters of a century nothing more than a rough schooling for the soldiery, a road to fortune for the generals, and to the senate a useful pretext for keeping the republic on a war footing, for distributing lucrative appointments, and for keeping on foreign service the more turbulent of the plebeians. In no case—whatever may have been said of Numantia and Viriathus—was it a serious danger.

In the case of Gaul, Rome remembered too well former perils to risk her fortune in that fierce and dangerous chaos. In that direction she maintained for a century and a half a prudently defensive attitude.

Germany was not yet discovered; the Alps were still an effective barrier even to the Romans. But the Cisalpine remained a serious danger, though exaggerated by Roman anxiety, causing wars laborious and unprofitable, destructive to consuls and armies, never affording decisive blows, brilliant victories, or a chance of those ambitious surnames which Roman generals were now so eagerly coveting.[1] South of Italy, as in the west and north, there was for a long time nothing of importance to accomplish. The senate, therefore, directed their attention towards the east, where were vast but weak monarchies, and immense wealth almost defenceless.

The whole east was strewn with the *débris* of Alexander's empire. In Asia, ten kingdoms had been set up at the expense

[1] Scipio is the first Roman general who took the name of the conquered country.

of the Seleucidæ; in Thrace, the native rulers had been restored; Cyrene had separated herself from the still prosperous Egypt of the Ptolemies; lastly, the Greek cities, scattered along the coasts, were divided among these various kings, or else maintained against them a profitless liberty.

Didrachme (cistophorus) of Pergamus.[1]

The kingdom of the Seleucidæ still extended over an immense area, from the Indus to the Ægean Sea. But within there was no cohesion, and all along its frontier, defended neither by rivers nor mountains, there were enemies: on the south, the kings of Egypt; on the north and east, the Bactrians and the Parthians, former subjects, now revolted, and on that account all the more formidable. In Asia Minor the Galatians were dangerous neighbours, and if the kings of Pergamus possessed but insignificant forces, the support of Rome rendered them dangerous enemies. Two of these kings, Attalus and Eumenes, were to play the same part for the senate as the Ætolians did in Greece, Masinissa in Africa, and Marseilles in Gaul. Notwithstanding this belt of enemies, notwithstanding the serious disadvantages of the geographical position of this Seleucid empire—a long and narrow strip that might be cut in twenty places, nothing had been done to attach the different subject races to the cause of their masters. Quite recently one Satrap, Molon, had been able to detach from the empire the provinces beyond the Tigris, while another, Achæus, had made himself independent in Asia Minor, and the Ptolemies

Ætolian Drachme.[2]

Ptolemy IV., Philopator, 222–205.[3]

[1] Mystic cistus whence emerges a serpent into a crown of vine-branches and ivy. On the the reverse, ΠΕΡ, first letters of the name Pergamus, ΔΙ, a monogram, two serpents, and a thyrsus.

[2] Head of a young man. On the reverse, ΑΙΤΩΛΩΝ, and the two letters ΝΙ, beginning of a magistrates title. Young man leaning on a gnarled stick, holding a sword under the left arm, and having one foot upon a rock. Weight 10·54 gr., imitated from Milesian coinage.

[3] From a tetrastater in the *Cabinet de France*.

had effected the conquest of Syria. Antiochus III., however, had conquered Molon and Achæus, driven the Egyptians back beyond Pelusium, subjugated Smyrna, struck terror into the Arabs, and had brought back from his expedition into Bactria and India a hundred and forty war elephants. He was now menacing Thrace, and had combined with Philip of Macedon to divide the rich inheritance left by Ptolemy Philopator to a child; dazzled by these various successes, he had arrogated to himself the title of Antiochus the Great.

But what weakness beneath this borrowed splendour! At Magnesia it did not cost the Romans four hundred men to drive before them like chaff the immense army of Antiochus. The reason was that, unfaithful to Alexander's idea, all his successors remained foreigners to the Asiatic races. Antiochus himself insulted their gods by his sacrilegious acts, their customs and modes of speech by his manners and his language, the just ambition of their national chiefs by his predilection for Greek adventurers. At that time Greece furnished mercenaries for the armies of all nations; ministers, generals, and courtiers for all princes. There could not be found among the satraps of Antiochus a Mede or a Persian, and the natives were only employed in those light-armed corps which uselessly swelled the numbers of Asiatic armies. Greeks and descendants of Macedonians furnished the phalanx; but it is well known how readily men of European descent become enervated by an Eastern climate. Besides, the phalanx, although it had succeeded once, was none the less a military mistake in Asia.[1]

To all these causes of weakness was added yet another, that there could not be union between the two great portions of the empire, the eastern and the western. The conquests of Alexander and of Rome had disturbed the world's balance. Formerly civilization and power were in Asia; at that time, Babylon, Ecbatana, and Persepolis were at the centre, and ruled with ease from the Mediterranean to the Indus. Now that Europe had emerged from barbarism and become the heir of oriental civilization, the regions

[1] [Alexander knew this perfectly well, and never tried to win a battle with the phalanx, which was Philip's invention to meet Greek infantry armies. Alexander won his battles with his heavy cavalry, making the phalanx his defensive wing, and at his death he was in the act of breaking it up into lighter corps. Nevertheless, against the Roman legion, and on even ground, it proved a very dangerous form of tactics.—*Ed.*]

to the west of the Euphrates, covered with new cities, with the language, manners, and ideas of Greece, had entered into the sphere of European action, while eastward of the Tigris all things remained Asiatic. The Tigris and Euphrates, therefore, separated two worlds, two civilizations. The Seleucidæ sought to re-unite them, and perished in the attempt. The oriental provinces went back to the Parthians, and later, to the Persians. The western provinces were united to the empire of Rome, later to that of Constantinople, and the separation has lasted to our own times.

Egypt had more unity, and apparently more strength, at least to defend herself. Together with the tomb of Alexander, the Ptolemies had kept some of his ideas; in the hope of making Egypt the great commercial power of the world, they had annexed to it, on the south, the countries lying along the Red Sea; on the north, Cyprus, Palestine, and Syria, the perpetual and legitimate object of ambition to all the intelligent rulers of Egypt; and besides, many cities of the coast of Asia Minor, of Thrace, and of the islands of the Ægean Sea. Unfortunately the Ptolemies, remaining Greek upon the banks of the Nile, as the Seleucidæ had done upon the Euphrates, did not strive to create for themselves a power from the national feeling. They abandoned the provinces, they neglected the old capitals, Thebes and Memphis,[1] and all the power and life which this Hellenized Egypt possessed concentrated itself in Alexandria, a new city situated almost outside of the country. Thence the Ptolemies could better keep watch upon the affairs of Asia and of Greece. After every victory Alexander was accustomed to ask: "And what do the Athenians say?" His generals could not feel that Greece was a foreign country to them. They had so easily conquered the East, that in their eyes there was no strength anywhere but in Greece, and they cared more to establish in her cities their influence or their authority than to gain provinces elsewhere. Aratus and Cleomenes had both accepted Egyptian gold as the price of their assistance against Macedonian

[1] This must be understood only in a political [and very restricted] sense, for the Ptolemies built many temples [did their best to fuse the nations], but the native population escaped entirely the influence of their rulers. Thus in his *Histoire d'Égypte*, Champollion-Figeac could say (p. 401): "In this country nothing was Greek, neither language, religion, manners, opinions, nor prejudices [except the Greek part of Alexandria]. In all these respects Egypt remained free from the Macedonian rule." And it was for this reason the more feeble.

schemes. Having confidence also in no courage save that of the Greek soldiers, the Ptolemies confided their armies and even their lives to mercenaries always ready to betray them, as, for instance, to the Ætolian Theodotus, who sold Cœle-Syria to Antiochus III., and the Cretan Bolis, who, sent by Ptolemy IV. into Asia Minor to save Achæos, gave him up instead to the king of Syria. All Egypt was in Alexandria, and Alexandria, like her kings, lay at the mercy of those whom Polybius calls the Macedonians.[1] "In respect to the state of this country," adds the same writer, "we can only say with Homer: 'To traverse Egypt the way is long and difficult.'"

The importance that the Ptolemies attached to these transmarine possessions, their rivalry with the kings of Macedon and Syria, and possibly the fear of Carthage, whose competition as a commercial power was dreaded at Alexandria, made them enter early into an alliance with Rome. In the year 273, Philadelphos concluded a treaty with the republic, which was maintained by his successors, and during the second Punic war Ptolemy IV. sent corn to Rome. Such was, in 201, the intimacy of the relations established between the two governments that, to put an end to the disturbances of the kingdom, the guardianship of Ptolemy Epiphanes, then but ten years of age, was offered to the Roman senate, and Lepidus, a senator, resided for some time at Alexandria as tutor to the young king.

Ptolemy V., Epiphanes (205–181).[2]

Coin of Lepidus.[3]

[1] See in Strabo (xvii. 12) the sad picture which Polybius, who visited Alexandria in the year 143, has drawn of that city, and all that Polybius himself (xv. 25) has said. Cleomenes, the king of Sparta, said to Sosibius, minister of Philopator, that there were in Alexandria 3,000 mercenaries from the Peloponnesus, and 1,000 Cretans, and that with these troops there was nothing to fear. At the battle of Raphia, Ptolemy had Thracians, Cretans, Gauls, Africans, Ætolians, Peloponnesians, and, for his entire fleet, only thirty decked vessels. (Polybius, v. 16.)

[2] Octodrachm (27·85 gr.).

[3] A woman's head representing Alexandria. On the reverse, Lepidus placing the crown on the head of Ptolemy. The legend, his name with the words: *Tutor regis*. All the Greek Orient came forward to welcome the Roman dominion. As early as the year 195, Smyrna erected a temple to the divinity of Rome.

II.—Greece.

Since the war with Pyrrhus, the senate had carefully watched the revolutions in Greece. This beautiful country had long been without strength and deprived of liberty. Athens, Sparta, and Thebes, which had by turns ruled it, had exhausted themselves in sustaining a fortune too great for them, and their power had passed into the hands of semi-barbarous races. By its union with Macedonia, Greece appeared formidable, and that which democracy, so strong in resistance, but so feeble in attack, had not been able to do, royalty accomplished: the Persian empire, scarcely shaken by Cimon and Agesilaus, fell into the hands of Alexander. The rivalries and wars of his successors gave back to the Greek cities their independence, but not their former vitality. During these few years of subjection they had lost all energy, and even their respect for their past glory. "When the gods make a man a slave," said Homer, "they take from him half his virtue." This might have been said of States as well as of individuals; for servitude, like hot summer weather drying up the failing rivers, dries up the springs of life in republican States. At Chæronea the Athenians still fought bravely, and Demosthenes, some years later, might have repeated to the Thebans, upon the ruins of their city, his splendid consolations: "No, no, you have not failed in rushing on death for the salvation of Greece." But what had become of these two republics under the Macedonian rule? The one only astonished the world by its servility, the other, by its degradation.

The disturbances in Macedon, the fall of the great cities, the political torpor of Corinth and Argos, left a clear field in Greece. Two new peoples appeared there: the Ætolians and the Achæans, who till now had lived unknown among their mountains or on the sterile shores of the Morea. And so, before her political existence came at last to an end, Greece called to the front the most obscure of her children. But the lustre which they spread over her last days was as fleeting as their own power. Now enemies, now united again to oppose Macedon, they but

ILLYRIA, GREECE, MACEDONIA, THRACE AND WESTERN PART OF ASIA MINOR.

SECOND MACEDONIAN WAR. WARS AGAINST ANTIOCHUS AND THE GALATIANS. THIRD MACEDONIAN WAR.

Lithog. by W. & A. K. Johnston, Edinburgh.

Plain of Apochori at the foot of Mt. Tomarus (where are the remains of Dodona).

increased the confusion in which perished the last remnants of patriotism.[1]

Ætolia was inhabited by a race of men at strife with all their neighbours, and living only by pillage. Wherever war had broken out thither they hastened, like birds of prey drawn by the smell of blood, and ready to plunder enemies and friends alike. And when they were called upon to renounce this savage custom: "We could sooner take Ætolia from Ætolia," they said, "than prevent our warriors from carrying off spoils from the spoiled."[2] They were worse than wreckers, plying their cruel trade far into the Peloponnesus, into Thessaly, and Epirus. In 218, their leader, Dorimachus, plundered and destroyed the most famous sanctuary in all Greece (except Delphi), the temple of Dodona, which never recovered from the disaster.[3]

The portrait which Polybius draws of this people is by no means flattering; but the excellent Polybius was an Achæan, and of the aristocratic party, that is to say, the mortal enemy of the Ætolians, who were of the popular faction. We may therefore believe that without actually calumniating them, he has sketched them with adverse pencil. They had one virtue, certainly, then rare in Greece; they were brave, for they dared to resist Macedon, and Rome, and the Gauls; and they knew how to attain power. The Ætolian league, more solidly organized than any other ever was in Greece, subordinated the cities to the general assembly, and thus held the confederates united by a close tie; hence the league attained great foreign influence, for its action was more prompt, and its plans were more consistently carried out. Its confederates were numerous; some in Peloponnesus, some even as far away as the coasts of Thrace and of Asia Minor, such as Lysimachia, Chalcedon and Chios.

In central Greece they held Thermopylæ, Locris, Phocis, and

[1] [The whole history of this most interesting phase of Greek liberty, which lasted nearly three generations, and which seems much underrated in the text, has been exhaustively treated by Mr. Freeman in his admirable volume on the *History of Federal Government*.—*Ed.*]

[2] *Λάφυρον ἀπὸ λαφύρου.* (Polybius, xvii. (xviii.), 3.)

[3] Dodona was at the foot of Mount Tomarus, which, over 6,000 feet in height, is next to Pindus the highest mountain in Lower Epirus. (Cf. Carapanos, *Dodona and its Ruins*.) Our illustration is copied from that admirable work. It is to this author that is due the very recent discovery of the ruins of Dodona.

the south of Thessaly. But this power, instead of being helpful to Greek liberty, turned against it, for it was not possible that the Ætolian league, with its principles of government and its rules of conduct, should ever become the nucleus of a general confederation. What Sparta had been for the Peloponnesus, that, Ætolia was for all Greece, namely, a continual menace, and to complete the resemblance, the Ætolian strategus Scopas proposed, as the revolutionary king of Sparta, Cleomenes, had done, to abolish debts and establish new laws favourable to the poor.[1] For fear of Sparta, Aratus delivered over the Peloponnesus to the Macedonians, and when Philip declared himself the enemy of Rome, the latter found in the Ætolians most useful auxiliaries. They laid open to her central Greece, and it is possible that their cavalry secured for Flamininus the victory at Cynoscephalæ.

Achæan Coin.[2]

Among the Achæans public morality was of a higher tone, and their chiefs, Aratus, Philopœmen, Lycortas, the father of Polybius, truly desired the welfare of Greece. Instead of seeking this end by an absolute supremacy, as Athens, Sparta, and Macedon had done, they hoped to attain it by a federation, like the early Hellenic amphyctionies in its principle, viz., in the equality of all the associated States. The Achæan league, which secured equal rights to every one of its members, which respected the individuality of the different States, and yet called upon them to act in common, seemed likely to make an united Greece, stronger and more formidable than she had ever been before. In 229, almost all the cities of the Peloponnesus and a part of central Greece had become members of the Achæan confederation.

But institutions alone cannot save nations. Of this league we have only the charming picture that Polybius has drawn of its government; we forget its intestine rivalries and its general feebleness. No doubt if the Spartans had cordially joined the league, if the Ætolians had been less unfriendly, and the neighbouring

[1] Polybius, xiii. 1; Livy, xlii. 5.

[2] Obverse, a head of Jupiter. On the reverse, a dolphin, the symbol of Dyme, placed under the monogram ✕ with ΘΕΣΕ, the initials of two magistrates. Triobol.

kings less jealous; if, in a word, the body of Greek nations having Macedon for its head, and wielding with its thousand arms the sword of Marathon and Thermopylæ, had held itself ready to defend the sacred soil against all invasion, no doubt it would have been necessary for Rome to send more than two legions to Cynoscephalæ. "I see," said a deputy from Naupactus, in the presence of the assembled Greeks,[1] "I see a stormy cloud arising in the west; let us hasten to terminate our puerile disagreements before it bursts over our heads." But union and peace were not possible between the aristocratic tendencies of the Achæans and the revolutionary spirit of Lacedæmon, between the peaceful Corinthian traders and the Klephts of Ætolia, between all these republics and the ambitious kings of Macedon. Dissensions existed even within the cities, and the more deep-rooted because the strife was not for power but for wealth. Each city had its party of rich and poor, the latter always ready to take arms against the former, those who had nothing to attack those who were in possession of property. Hence arose violent hatreds, from which the senate knew how to derive advantage. Continually threatened with a social revolution, the rich turned their hopes towards Rome, and as soon as the legions appeared, there was a Roman party in Greece.[2]

To bring these nations into fraternal union, then, it would have been needful to begin by obliterating the memory of their past and their inveterate hatreds; also it would have been needful to prevent contact with that rich and corrupt East, which constantly drew away into the schools of Alexandria and Pergamus all the poets and scholars who yet remained to Greece, and into the courts of the Ptolemies and Seleucids all her men of talent and courage. These oriental rulers had not a minister, a general, a governor of a city, who was not of Hellenic birth. Greece was giving her best blood and receiving vices in exchange. "Everywhere in this country," says Polybius, "high offices are bought at small cost;[3] entrust a talent to those who have the management of the public funds, take ten securities, as many promises, and twice as many

[1] In 217. (Polybius, v. 21.)

[2] Legal interest in Athens was 18 per cent. (Dareste, *Bull. de corresp. hellén.*, July, 1878, p. 486.) At this rate debts increased with extreme rapidity, and it is easy to see how they became the scourge of the Greek cities as they were at Rome in early times.

[3] iv. 9.

witnesses; never will you see your money again."[1] Elsewhere he cites that Dicæarchos, the worthy friend of Scopas, who, when sent by Philip to plunder the Cyclades contrary to his sworn engagement, built, wherever he landed, two altars, one to Impiety, the other to Injustice.[2]

This thirst for gold had produced a moral degradation which destroyed all devotion to public interests. Hence, what torpor in most of the cities! Athens, the alert and intelligent city which once took the initiative in the most glorious measures, now refuses to unite her destinies with those of Greece,[3] and by the sacreligious honours she pays to all kings, those *Divine Saviours*, as she calls them, to whom she raises altars and offers sacrifices, proves how ready she herself is for servitude.[5] Aratus sets her free from the Macedonian garrison in the Piræus, and restores Salamis to her, without moving her from her apathetic indifference. It only remained for her to forbid by public decree her citizens from ever concerning themselves in the general affairs of Greece, as the Bœotians had done, who, not to be disturbed in their pleasures, had declared patriotism to be a crime against the State.[6]

Coin of Athens.[4]

"Thebes," says Polybius, "died with Epaminondas. It is the custom there to leave one's money, not to one's child, but to one's boon companions, on condition that it be spent in orgies; many men, therefore, are under obligation to give more feasts in

[1] vi. 56, and xviii. 2. The Greeks could not believe that Flamininus did not sell peace to Philip . . . . τὴς ὠροδοκίας ἐπιπολαζούσης καὶ τοῦ μηδένα μηδὲν ὠρεὰν πράττειν.

[2] Polybius, xviii. 37: τὸν μὲν Ἀσιβείας, τὸν δὲ Παρανομίας.

[3] Τῶν μὲν ἄλλων Ἑλληνικῶν πράξεων οὐδ' ὁποίας μετεῖχον . . . . εἰς πάντας τοὺς βασιλεῖς ἐξεκέχυντο. (Ol., cxl. 3; Polybius, v. 106.) Athens, he says, has always been like a vessel without a captain; after escaping the most furious tempests, she goes to pieces in calm weather upon shoals full in sight.

[4] Head of Athene. Reverse, first three letters of the name Athens, ΑΘΕ, and three names of magistrates. The owl consecrated to this goddess, standing upon a vase; a caduceus, and a monetary mark, ΣΦ. Athenian tetradrachm. (Cf. Beulé, *Monnaies d'Athènes*, p. 362.)

[5] Plut., *Dem.*, 10; Livy, xxxi. 14–15. Later on we shall see her degrading prayer "to the god Demetrius."

[6] Οὐδ' ἐκαινώνησαν (Βοιωτοὶ) οὔτε πράξεως οὔτ' ἀγῶνος οὐδενὸς ἔτι τοῖς Ἕλλησι μετὰ κοινοῦ δόγματος. (Polybius, xx. 4.)

a month than the month has days. For nearly twenty-five years the tribunals remained closed. . . ." [1]

Since the time of Philip, Corinth was no longer free. One garrison occupied her walls, another her citadel; and Aratus seized and afterwards sold the Acrocorinthus, without the citizens interfering even in the sale. Their arsenals were empty, but statues, and elegant vases, and marble palaces glittered on every side; they made it their pride that their city should be extolled as the most pleasure-loving in all Greece, and their temple of Aphrodite was rich enough to have in its service a thousand courtesans.[3]

Corinthian Didrachme.[2]

After having destroyed or subjugated the other cities of Argolis, Argos herself fell under the rule of tyrants. Three times the Achæans penetrated the city and fought against mercenaries The inhabitants, indifferent observers from their house-tops of a strife in which their own destinies were at stake, applauded the best performance. "You would have thought," says Plutarch, "they were looking at the Nemean games."

Argive Didrachme.[4]

Sparta was nothing but one perpetual revolution. Within a few years the Ephors had been massacred four times, and the royal power increased, abolished, then re-established, bought, and finally left in the hands of a tyrant. Sparta, pledged to poverty and equality, had become the richest and most oligarchical country in

[1] Polybius, vi. 6, and xx. 6. Bœotian stupidity, *ἀναισθησία*, and gluttony, *Βοιωτία ὗς*, have become proverbial. Cf. Athenæus, x. 11. However, the fact that Pindar and Epaminondas were Bœotians, also the discovery of the very graceful figurines of the necropolis of Tanagra, compel us to accept with reserve the common opinion in respect to Bœotian stupidity.

[2] Head of Athene. In the field, a bearded head, monetary symbol marking a coinage. Beneath the Pegasus is the *koppa* (Ϙ) initial of the name Corinth; it was customary to mark with this symbol horses of a special breed. [Cf. *σαμφόρας*, probably for Sicyonic horses.—*Ed.*]

[3] [These were, however, a direct source of gain, and rather prove the greatness of the commerce and thoroughfare in that city.—*Tr.*]

[4] Obverse, a head of Juno with a diadem. Reverse, ΑΡΓΕΙΟΝ; cow's head, adorned with fillets, between two dolphins. Argive Didrachme.

Greece.[1] From the 9,000 Spartans of Lycurgus, the number had fallen below 700, of whom 600 were beggars,[2] deprived of all political rights by the loss of their ancestral property.[3] Wealth, accumulated in the hands of women, had engendered unbridled corruption; everything could be bought for money.[4] Agis and Cleomenes attempted, it is said, to put in force the ancient laws of Lycurgus, and to re-create anew the Spartan people. But the one perished before he had accomplished anything; the other effected only a military revolution in the interest of his own power, and gave Sparta an appearance of life merely by appealing to popular passions. Throughout the Peloponnesus the poor called upon him, expecting that he would divide the land among them and abolish all debts. Hence the alarm which seized Aratus and the Achæan league, when they beheld Cleomenes at the head of 20,000 slaves, debtors, and proletaries, threatening not only the independence of States and their government, but the property of each individual. Far indeed was this radical tyranny from the austere polity of Lycurgus.

Lycurgus.[5]

Antigonus.[6]

To escape from this danger the Achæans threw themselves

[1] Χρυσίον δὲ καὶ ἀργύριον οὐκ ἐστιν ἐν πᾶσιν Ἕλλησιν ὅσον ἐν Λακεδαίμονι ἰδίᾳ. (Plato, *Alc. I*, p. 122 E.)

[2] The Spartan population had fallen off from 8,000, in 480, to 6,000, in 420 (O. Müller, *Dorians*, ii. 233); after the battle of Leuctra only 2,000 remained. Aristotle (*Pol.*, ii. 6), reckoned the number at 1,000. Under Agis there were 700. (Plut., *Agis.*, 5.) Many causes contributed to the rapid extinction of this race: the law for the exposure of infants, the continual wars, the increasing inequality in respect to wealth since the law of Epitades (Plut., *Agis*, 5), which reduced the poor to a condition of political inferiority ὑπομείονες (see Cinadon's conspiracy in Xenophon, *Hell.*, iii. 3, and Aristotle, *Pol.*, viii. 6), and prevented them from bringing up children, although a man having one son was exempted from military service, and having three, from all civic obligations (Arist., *Pol.*, ii. 6, 13; Clinton, *Fasti Hell.*, p. 415); finally the usage τρεῖς ἀνδρας ἔχειν γυναῖκα καὶ τέτταρας (Polybius, xii. 6), and the *Creticus amor*.

[3] Arist., *Pol.*, ii. 6, 7; Stob., *Serm.*, 40: Τὸν μὴ ἐμμένοντα τῇ ἀγωγῇ κἀξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως ἤ εἰς τοὺς Εἵλωτας ἀποστέλλουσιν.

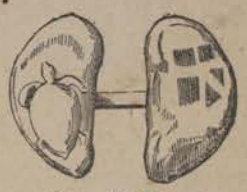
[4] In the time of Aristotle (*Pol.*, ii. 6, 11) women in Sparta possessed two-fifths of all the property owned in the State. Plato (*de Leg.*, i.) had been struck with the depravity of Spartan manners, and held the women responsible for it.

[5] Bronze Coin of Sparta with [a conventional] head of Lycurgus.

[6] This head of Antigonus Doson used to be called Cleomenes.

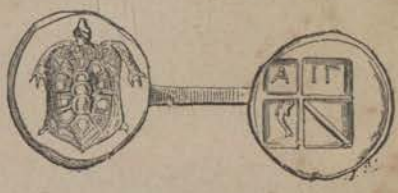
into the arms of the king of Macedon; under him they would at all events lose only a portion of their independence.[1]

The battle of Sellasia destroyed this factitious power, and Cleomenes carried into Egypt his turbulent ambition and his misconceptions of times and of men; he perished calling the Alexandrians to liberty! After him, Sparta remained a prey to factions, whence emerged the tyranny of Machanidas, which was destroyed by Philopœmen. But Sparta, despite her abasement, was too proud of her old glory to consent to disappear into the Achæan league. To Machanidas succeeded Nabis,[2] and the Spartans remained allies of the Ætolians.



Coin of Ægina.[3]

Need we speak of smaller states? Ægina has disappeared from the arena;[4] soon she will serve for an instance to show how greatness and glory pass away.[5] Megara is but an obscure dependent of the Bœotian or the Achæan leagues; the Eleans, like Messene and part of Arcadia, are dependent upon the Ætolians; the weakness of Phocis still attests, after four generations have passed by, the terrible vengeance of the Sacred War; Eubœa and Thessaly are powerless;[6] Crete given up to disorder and to all manner of evil passions, "to *cretise*," was a synonym for lying.[8]



Drachme of Ægina.[7]

Even with patriotism and sounder morals, the Greeks could not have been saved, and though peace and unity had reigned from

[1] Concerning the dependence of the Achæans upon Macedon, see Plutarch (*Aratus*, 45, 51, 52) and Polybius (iv. and x. 1 to 5).

[2] See in Polybius (xiii. 7, and xvi. 13) a picture of the tyranny of Nabis.

[3] A tortoise and a rude square. Very ancient Didrachme

[4] However, yet once more she resisted a Roman general, Sulpicius Galba, who caused all her inhabitants to be sold into slavery. (Polybius, ix. 42a.)

[5] See the too much admired letter of Sulpicius to Cicero to console him when no consolation is possible—a daughter's death: *Ægina, Megara, Piræus, Corinthus quæ oppida, quodam tempore, florentissima fuerunt, nunc prostrata et diruta ante oculos jacent.* (*Fam.*, iv. 5.)

[6] Hannibal said of Bœotia, Eubœa, and Thessaly: *Illis nullæ suæ vires sunt.* (Livy.)

[7] Same symbols, but artistically wrought. In the square a dolphin, and the first letters of the name Ægina.

[8] "Crete," says Polybius, "is the only country in the world where gain, no matter what may be its nature, passes for honest and legitimate. . . . If you look at individuals there are few men more knavish; if you consider the state, there is none in which more unjust designs are conceived. (vi. 9.) Cf. Diod., *Exc. Vat.*, ii. 119.

Cape Tænarum to Mount Orbelus, Rome would notwithstanding, with a little more time and effort, have reduced her no less completely.

Upon the confines of Europe and Asia, there was activity and wealth in the commercial cities ranged along the shores of the Propontis, upon the sea coast of Asia Minor, and in the islands of the Ægean Sea. Byzantium, the queen of the Bosphorus, Cyzicus, and Rhodes especially, had even established with Smyrna, Abydus, Chios, Mitylene, and Halicarnassus a sort of league or *hansa* for mutual defence. But there was no real strength; Rome could easily get the better of these cities, leaving to them that which was their supreme ambition, commerce, with its profits, and municipal liberty, with its agitations.

Byzantine Coin.[1]

If we depend upon the judgment of Montesquieu, we shall strangely deceive ourselves in respect to the strength of Greece at this period. The fears expressed at Rome have been taken in earnest; in the crafty dealing of the senate has been found a proof of Greek power, and her warriors have been counted by hundreds of thousands. It is a mere optical illusion produced by the great names of the past —at a distance, ships of the line, seen near at hand, logs floating upon the water. Athens was not able to put a stop to the ravages of the Chalcidian pirates, nor of the Corinthian garrison. In the year 200 some bands of Acarnanians overran Attica with impunity, burning and massacring, and 2,000 Macedonians kept the city besieged.[3] When Philip ravaged Laconia up to the very walls of Sparta, Lycurgus had but 2,000 men with whom to oppose him.

Coin of Smyrna.[2]

[1] Head of Bacchus. On the reverse, a bunch of grapes, and the legend, BY(Z)ANTIΩN. Copper coin.

[2] Turreted head of the city. The reverse, ΣMYPNAIΩN HPAKΛEIΔOY (magistrate's name), and a monogram; lion passant; the whole surrounded by a wreath. Tetradrachm of Smyrna.

[3] Livy, xxxi. 14, 22.

Philip himself entered upon the campaign with 5,700 soldiers in 219, and the year after he had only 7,500. The contingent of Argos and of Megalopolis is 550 men, and all the Achæan confederation cannot put under arms during the war of the two leagues, the most exciting war of this period, more than 3,500 national troops.[1]

Coin of Halicarnassus.[2]

In 219 three cities withdrew from the confederation; for their defence an army of 350 soldiers was sufficient. The Eleans had never more than a few hundred men under arms; at the battle of Mont Apelaurus they were 2,300 strong, including mercenaries.[3]

The marine had fallen even lower. The Athenians, who equipped 300 vessels at Salamis, have now for their entire fleet three open galleys;[4] Nabis has no more.[5] The Achæan league, which comprises Argolis, Corinth, Sicyon, and all the maritime cities of the ancient Ægialeia is in a position to equip but six vessels, three to guard the Corinthian Gulf and three the Saronic.[6] In Livy is mentioned the ridiculous fleet of Philopœmen, the flagship being a four-banked galley which had for eighty years been rotting in the harbour of Ægion;[7] the Ætolians have not a single ship;[8] and we remember that the Illyrian pirates carried their depredations with impunity as far as the Cyclades. Rhodes even, whose power is so vaunted,[10] after a serious quarrel with Byzantium, sends but three galleys into the Hellespont; and yet the parties

Prusias I.[10]

[1] At one time a levy of 11,000 men was decreed, but of this number 8,300 were mercenaries. (Polybius, v. 91.) See in the same author (x. 5) the deplorable condition of the cavalry before the reforms of Philopœmen.

[2] Head of Medusa. The reverse, the name of the city, ΑΛΙΚΑΡΝΑΣΙ (ΩΝ), and the bust of Pallas. Drachme of Halicarnassus. (3·85 gr.)

[3] Polybius, iv. 68.

[4] Livy, xxxi. 22.

[5] *Id.*, xxxv. 26.

[6] Polybius, v. 91.

[7] Livy, xxxv. 26.

[8] In their expeditions against Epirus, Acarnania, and the Peloponnesus, they employed *ταῖς τῶν Κεφαλλήνων ναυσί*. (Polybius, v. 3.)

[9] Strab., xiv.; Diod., xx. 81.

[10] Prusias I., king of Bithynia, about 228, died between 183 and 179. Attalus was king of Pergamus, and Achæus, of that portion of Asia Minor which was a dependency upon the empire

in this war were two famous republics, three kings, Attalus, Prusias, and Achæus, with an indefinite number of Gallic and Thracian chiefs.[1]

This weakness was not accidental. I will not say that the military spirit was dead in Greece, but for the last two centuries her sons had been wasted in causes foreign to herself, and the lucrative occupations opened to them in the East had led them to desert the cause of their country.[2] At the very time when the Spartan king Areus perished and the last remnants of Hellenic liberty were falling beneath the attacks of Antigonus, Xanthippus had brought away the bravest of the Lacedæmonians to the assistance of Carthage. Later, during the second war of the Romans against Philip, Scopas came to enrol under the standard of Ptolemy 6,000 Ætolians, and, without the opposition of the strategus Damocritus, all the youth would have followed him.[3] In the time of Alexander, Darius had already 50,000 Greek mercenaries; we have seen that they were also the chief dependence of the Ptolemies and the Seleucids.

There existed therefore between Greece and the East an interchange equally disastrous to both; the latter took men and lost the confidence and support of the national forces; the former received gold, and with that gold, destructive to her own morals, bought in turn mercenaries for her private quarrels. I have already spoken of that deadly ulcer of states, *condottierism*, which destroyed Carthage and the Italian republics of the Middle Ages; it had now extended over the whole of Greece. Macedon, even, had foreigners in her pay; at Sellasia there were 5,000 or 6,000 of them in the army of Antigonus. In the Achæan armies mercenaries formed more than half the troops. The kings and the tyrants of Sparta had no other soldiers.[4]

of the Seleucidæ (223–214). The head of Prusias is from a tetradrachm. During the first war between Rome and Philip, he was the ally of the latter. He was therefore concerned in the treaty of 205, but he held himself aloof from the second war, now about to commence.

[1] Polybius, iv. 12. However, in 191, the Rhodians joined the Roman fleet with twenty-five decked vessels (Livy, xxxvi. 45), and in 190 with thirty-five. But the fact cited in the text shows what contemptible wars at this time disturbed the Greek world.

[2] Lysiscus expressed the true idea of the Greeks—Alexander has subjugated Asia to the Greeks. (Polybius, ix. 11.) Hence they flung themselves upon this prey with more avidity than did the Spaniards in the sixteenth century upon the New World, and we know what ills the conquest of America caused in the end to Spain.

[3] Livy, xxxi. 43.

[4] See Polybius, ii. 13, in regard to Cleomenes and Antigonus; iv. 13, in regard to the

Wealth obtained in evil ways proverbially takes wings. Asiatic and African gold did not remain in Greece, because industry was there no longer. The cities were depopulated and in want. Of Megalopolis it was said, "Great city, great desert." Destitution prevailed everywhere. Mantinea, men and property together, was not worth 300 talents, and Polybius would not give, he says, 6,000 talents for the whole of the Peloponnesus. Attica, two centuries earlier, was the richest country in Greece. A recent estimate of its landed property and personalities had given but 5,750 talents, half the sum which Pericles kept in reserve in the public treasury before the war in which his fortunes waned. And this very people, who at that time spent a thousand talents for a single temple, to-day being required by arbitrators to pay 500, had not the means of doing it. Hence armies were small, affairs were on a petty scale; a little noise about trifling matters; while across the Adriatic resounded the grand tumult of the mortal strife between Hannibal and Rome. All the memories of other days cannot make us believe that this worn-out people, a prey to confusion and giddiness, are yet capable of devotion and heroism. "'Tis Greece, but living Greece no more!"

In certain cities the administration of justice was suspended; there were tribunals that remained closed twenty years, not for lack of criminals, but for lack of judges upon whom the factions could agree;[1] society was relapsing into barbarism. The family, like the city, was perishing. Many avoided marriage to escape the duties of paternity, and refused to bring up the children born from their transient unions.[2] This artist race even ceased to respect that which is still the best part of their fame—their masterpieces of art. Before the Heruli and the Goths came, bringing devastation into Greece, the Greeks themselves burned their own temples, destroyed their pictures, overthrew their statues; in one day Philip of Macedon caused the destruction of 2,000 statues in the capital of Ætolia. "This man," said the Athenian deputies at the assembly at Naupactus, "this man makes a sacrilegious war upon

Achæans; iv. 17, v. 8, concerning Philip; v. 3, the Eleans; and in regard to Athens, Livy, xxxi. 24. Crete furnished mercenaries to all the world, even to the pirates. (Strabo, x. 477.) Agesilaus (Plut., *Ages.*) had already employed hired troops.

[1] Polybius, xx. 6.

[2] *Id.*, xxxvii. 4.

the gods; he burns temples, mutilates statues, and destroys even the tombs of the dead."[1] The Lacedæmonians did the same at Megalopolis, the Ætolians at Dium, Prusias at Pergamus and Lemnos. And the sober Polybius, indignant at these sacrilegious frenzies, exclaims in his turn, "Verily, these men are insane; they addressed to the gods their supplications; they offer victims to them; they bend the knee before their images; they are as superstitious as women, and they lay waste their temples."[2]

Doubtless there were still enlightened and patriotic Greeks, and when the question shall be clearly put between Greece and Rome, between liberty and submission, we shall again find sentiments and impulses worthy of a great people. But it is too late. The Achæan league could no longer bring safety—the moment for that has passed, nor could the federative system, into which a skilful aggressor can too easily bring dissension; the only thing now possible would be a close alliance with Macedon under a great prince. Let us see whether that great prince existed.

III.—Macedon.

Surrounded by the sea and by rugged mountains, inhabited by a warlike race, devoted to her kings and proud of the position they had made for her in the world, Macedon was truly a powerful State. As in the case of Carthage, Rome made three attempts before she could achieve her rivals destruction. If Philip V. had possessed nothing but Macedon, his conduct no doubt would have been as simple as his interests, but he held also Thessaly and Eubœa, Opus in Locris, Elatæa and the larger part of Phocis, the Acrocorinthus

Coin of Opus.[3]

[1] In regard to Philip's ravages in Attica, Cf. Livy, xxxi. 5, 24, 26, 50. Not content with throwing down the statues, he caused them to be broken. At Thermus he burned the temple and threw down 2,000 statues. (Polybius, v. 9; xi. 3.) The Ætolians, on their part, destroyed the ancient sanctuary of Dodona, and at Dium the temple and the pictures of the kings of Macedon. The plundering of Delphi by the Phocians will be remembered.

[2] Polybius, xxxii. 25.

[3] Head of Ceres. Reverse, ΟΠΟΝΤΙΩΝ, and Ajax sword in hand. Didrachme of Opus.

and Orchomenus in Arcadia. In three of the Cyclades, Andros, Paros, and Cythnos, he maintained garrisons; also in Thasos and some cities of the coast of Thrace and of Asia; a considerable part of Caria belonged to him. These remote and scattered possessions multiplied hostile contacts. His Thracian towns, Perinthus, Sestus, and Abydus, which commanded the passage from Europe into Asia, made him dangerous to Attalus of Pergamus; his cities in Caria and the island of Iasus, to the Rhodians; Eubœa, to the Athenians; Thessaly and Phocis, to the Ætolians; his possessions in the Peloponnesus, to Lacedæmon.

Didrachme of Thasos.[1]

With more consistency in his plans and a wiser use of his strength he might have ruled over all Greece, for he held its fetters, to quote the words of Antipater. But he always made war less as a king than a predatory chief, rushing in one campaign from Macedon to Cephallonia, thence to Thermus, from Ætolia to Sparta, completing the destruction of no enemy, leaving each enterprise incomplete.[3] In these wars his numerical strength never exceeded a few thousand men, and Plutarch speaks of the difficulties he had in raising troops.[5] He could not withdraw soldiers from Macedon, for whenever they knew of his absence the Thracians, the Dardanians, and the Illyrian tribes fell upon his kingdom. To conquer these barbarians, to crush the Ætolian league, to expel the

Coin of Abydus.[2]

Coin of Iasus.[4]

[1] Satyr carrying off a woman. Reverse, hollow square. Silver coin of Thasos of very ancient date.

[2] Bust of Diana. Reverse, ΑΒΥΔΗΝΩΝ ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ, an eagle and a torch; the whole surrounded by a laurel wreath. Tetradrachm of Abydus.

[3] Polybius, v. 1–15.

[4] Heads of the Dioscuri coupled. Reverse, ΙΑΣΕΩΝ. Figure leaning upon a dolphin. Bronze coin of Iasus.

[5] Plutarch, *Flamininus*.

tyrants of Sparta and to gain over by gentleness the rest of the Greeks—this was the *rôle* Philip proposed to himself. But he had not the ability to play it. If it is not true that, as Polybius asserts, he caused Aratus to be poisoned,[1] he certainly alienated his allies by his excesses and his perfidy. "A king," he dared to say, "is bound neither by his word nor by moral laws." The eyes of the most careless observer saw drawing near "the tempest which the Ætolians were attracting from the

Iasus.[2]

West."[3] Philip only neither saw nor understood this.[4] And when the senate sent to declare war upon him he was fighting in Asia against Attalus and the Rhodians for the possession of some unimportant places in Thrace and Caria. His reply to the Roman messenger, Æmilius Lepidus, shows his mocking levity in the

[1] The assertion of Polybius seems to be ill supported by evidence. Notice, *passim*, the reproaches that he addresses to Philip on account of his conduct at Messene and at Argos; also the speech of Aristenes. (Livy, xxxii. 21.)

[2] Part of the wall of Iasus, with eastern side. (*Voyage archéol. en Grèce et en Asie mineure*, Lebas and Waddington, pl. lxvi., fig. 1.) This city was then in possession of Macedon.

[3] Speech of Lysiscus, Polybius, ix. 11. As the second Punic war drew near its close the fears of the Greeks increased and the conviction that they were destined to swell the number of the conquests of Rome. (Polybius, xi. 6.) "Threatened by Carthage and by Rome," said a Greek, "we shall escape from servitude only if Philip can regard all Greece as his own and watch over her." (Polybius, v. 104.)

[4] Except in making his treaty with Hannibal: "From this moment the idea of conquering Italy occupied him even in his dreams." (Polybius, v. 101–8.)

midst of most serious affairs. He would forgive him, he said, the arrogance of his language for three reasons—first, that he was young and inexperienced; next, because he was the handsomest man of his age; and lastly, because he bore a Roman name.[1]

The Roman power, until now limited to the West, was about to penetrate into that Eastern world belonging to the successors of Alexander. It is Rome's immortal honour, the one immense benefit which makes us forget all her unjust wars, that for a certain length of time she united these two worlds, which are in their nature so divided in interests and so foreign one to the other; that she mingled and blended the brilliant but corrupt civilization of the East with the barbaric energy of the West. The Mediterranean became a Roman lake—*mare nostrum*, they called it, and the same life circulated upon all its shores, called, for the first and last time, to share a common existence.

A century and a half of efforts and of prudence were required for this result: for Rome, not working for a man, but for a patient aristocracy, had no need to attain the end at a single leap. Instead of rearing suddenly one of those colossal monarchies formed like the statue of gold, with feet of clay, she slowly founded an empire which fell only under the weight of years and of hordes from the North. After Zama, she might have attempted the conquest of Africa, but she left Carthage and the Numidians to wear one another out. After Cynoscephalæ and Magnesia, Greece and Asia were ready for the yoke, but she still left to them fifty years more of liberty. The truth is, she still keeps, with her pride in the Roman name and her insatiable desire for power, some of her early virtues. The Popillii are more numerous than the Verres at present; she had rather rule the world; later, she will set herself to pillage it. And so, wherever any strength is observed, thither Rome despatches her legions; everything like power is destroyed; ties uniting States, leagues of whatever kind are broken up; and when she recalls her soldiers they leave behind them anarchy and weakness. The work of the legions being ended, that of the

[1] Polybius, xvi. 15.

senate begins: first, force, afterwards tact and policy, and the old senators, grown gray amid the alarms of the second Punic war, seem now to enjoy themselves far more in that play of state-craft, always the highest of Italian arts.

Many reasons, moreover, enjoined this reserve. Against the Gauls and the Samnites, against Pyrrhus and Hannibal, that is to say, in the defence of Latium and of Italy, Rome had used all her strength; it was a question of life or death. In the wars in Greece and Asia only her ambition and her pride were at stake, and prudence required that a little rest should be allowed to the plebeians and the allies. The senate also had too many affairs upon their hands at the same time—wars in Spain, in Corsica, in the Cisalpine, and in Istria, to permit any serious handling of the Eastern question; two legions only were sent to fight with Philip and with Antiochus. It was enough to conquer them, but not enough to plunder them. Besides, from the moment when the Romans began to penetrate into this Greek world, where the glory of the past concealed so much present weakness, they felt that they could never be too moderate. Those pitiless enemies of the Volscians and the Samnites in their next wars no longer ravage the country and exterminate their adversaries. Not for their own interests did they come, they said, to shed their blood; it was to advocate the cause of oppressed Greece. And this language, this conduct, they never changed, even after victory.

The first act of Flamininus, on the morrow of Cynoscephalæ, will be to proclaim liberty to the Greeks. All who bore that honoured name seemed to have a right to their protection, and the little Greek cities of Caria and along the Thracian and the Asiatic coasts will receive with wonder their liberty at the hands of a people whom they scarcely know. All will be deceived by this air of disinterested kindness. No one will observe that what Rome is doing in giving independence to their States and cities has the effect of destroying the confederations just struggling to re-form, in which perhaps might be the hope of new strength for Greece. Separating them from one another, and attaching them to herself by a tie of self-interested gratitude, she placed them all unconsciously to themselves under her influence. She made them her

allies, and it is well known what became finally of the allies of Rome. So profitable did the senate find this policy of sowing dissensions everywhere and awakening on all sides extinct rivalries, that for more than half a century they followed no other.

[1] Reverse of a coin of the Servilian family bearing the head of Flora, already represented (vol. i. p. 541.)

Warriors joining their Swords.[1]

CHAPTER XXVII.

SECOND MACEDONIAN WAR (200-197).[1]

I.—First Operations of Rome in Greece.

THE conqueror of Zama had scarcely descended from the Capitol, and the temples yet resounded with thanksgivings, when one of the consuls came, in the name of the senate, to say to the assembled centuries: "Will you, do you decree, that war be declared against king Philip and the Macedonians for having done injury and violence to the allies of the Roman people?" The centuries unanimously refused the proposal. They had had enough of glory and battles; peace and rest were the objects of their desire; but the Roman people belonged to themselves no longer. They had become the instrument of a self-imposed necessity, which must inevitably be wielded for the conquest of the world.

Vainly did the Roman nation now desire to stop in the bloody career wherein its own liberty was also to perish. Victory had made it a king, and it must needs accept the anxieties, the perils, and the proud misery of its royal condition. "The senators," said Bæbius, the tribune, "wish to make war endless, to the end that their dictature may be endless." The consul reminded them of the treaty with Hannibal, of the 4,000 mercenaries sent to Zama,[2] of Philip's threats against the free cities of Greece and Asia, his attacks upon the allies of Rome in the East, upon Attalus of Pergamus, the Rhodians, and Ptolemy Epiphanes, the ward of the senate. At that very moment he was besieging Athens. Athens, the consul said, would be a new Saguntum, and Philip another Hannibal. The war must be carried into Greece if they desired not to have it in Italy. "Go to the vote, then," he said, in conclusion,

[1] For the first Macedonian war, see vol. i., p. 636.

[2] Livy, xxx. 42.

"and may the gods who have accepted my sacrifices and have given me auspicious omens inspire you to decree what the senate has resolved." The people yielded. The senate, however, had so little real anxiety in the case that they armed for Italy and the provinces but six legions in all, although the war was then recommencing in the Cisalpine, where Hamilcar, the Carthaginian, was fomenting disturbances among the Insubrians.

We have seen what was the situation in Greece and in the Eastern world, and have noted the strength of the different States and their alliances. Philip had lately allied himself with Antiochus III. of Syria and with Prusias of Bithynia for the purpose of despoiling the Thracian and Asiatic possessions of Ptolemy Epiphanes, who was in his turn defended by Rhodes and by Attalus of Pergamus. In Greece, his declared enemies were, Sparta under the rule of Nabis; Athens, which had just exchanged rights of citizenship with Rhodes; and the Ætolians, who ruled from one sea to the other[2] and occupied Thermopylæ; while his excesses left him but lukewarm friends. The consul Sulpicius, sent against him, came over bringing but two legions; Carthage sent them corn, Masinissa furnished them Numidian troops, Rhodes and Attalus contributed ships, and the Ætolians, after some hesitation, sent their [Thessalian] cavalry—the best in Greece. Nabis, without declaring for Rome, was already in open war with the Achæans.

Tetrastater of Antiochus III.[1]

Coin of Chalcis.[3]

As soon as the campaign opened, Philip, notwithstanding his activity, found himself hemmed in by enemies on every side. A lieutenant of Sulpicius

[1] Crowned head of Antiochus. Reverse, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ, and a monogram. Apollo seated upon the *omphalos* or central point of the world. From the *Cabinet de France*. (33·95 gr.)

[2] See p. 9. Livy however mentions several Phocian towns in alliance with Philip.

[3] Woman's head. Reverse, ΧΑΛ, and an eagle tearing a serpent. Drachme of Chalcis in Eubœa.

sent to the help of Athens burned Chalcis, the chief city of Eubœa; the Ætolians with the Athamanes ravaged Thessaly; Pleuratus, king of Illyria and the Dardanians, came down into Macedon; lastly, another lieutenant pushed a reconnaissance into Dassaretia. From this side Sulpicius attacked, that is by Lychnidus and what was afterwards the Egnatian road, having as his object the stronghold of Heracleia (near Monastir). Philip arrived in time to cover it, and closed to the Romans the defile through which they would have been able to come down into the fertile fields of Lyncestis. But in this mountainous region the Macedonian phalanx was useless, and although Philip had gathered 24,000 men, he could not hinder his adversary from turning his position on the north and coming down into the plain by way of Pelagonia.[1] At the end of a few months, therefore, Sulpicius found himself in the heart of Macedon; but winter was drawing near; without magazines, without strongholds, he could not winter in an enemy's country: he therefore returned to Apollonia.

Heracleia in Macedon.[2]

During the summer, the combined fleet had driven Philip's garrisons out of the Cyclades, had taken Oreus, and pillaged the coasts of Macedon (200). A few predatory excursions into Attica, some slight advantages gained over the Ætolians, who had made incursions into Thessaly, and the taking of Maroneia, a rich and powerful Thracian city, did not balance for Philip the danger of having suffered the enemy to penetrate into the very heart of the Macedonian kingdom.

Coin of Maroneia.[3]

The new consul, Villius, found the army in a state of mutiny, and passed the entire campaign (199) in restoring discipline. He seems, however, to have only succeeded by discharging the mutineers,

[1] Heuzey, *Mission de Macédoine*, p. 302.

[2] Head of Hercules. Reverse, HPAKAEIA, in a hollow square. Hemidrachm of Heracleia.

[3] Galloping horse; above, a vase, and the first letters of the name Maroneia. On the reverse, ΕΠΙ ΜΗΤΡΟΔΟΘ, a magistrate's name, surrounding a vine branch enclosed in a square. Tetradrachm of Maroneia.

who, having entered upon this war in the hope of a rapid campaign and much plunder, had found themselves disappointed in both respects. At least, it is certain that the successor of Villius was obliged to bring out 9,000 fresh troops. Encouraged by this inaction, the king took the offensive, and entrenched himself upon both sides of the Aoüs, in an impregnable position covering Thessaly and Epirus, whence he could cut off the Romans from the sea, if they should recommence the expedition of Sulpicius.

The people had raised to the consulate Titus Quinctius Flamininus, although he was but thirty-two years of age, and had held no other office save the quæstorship the preceding year; but his reputation anticipated his services; he was, moreover, a member of one of those noble families who had already begun to set themselves above the laws. A good general, a better statesman, pliant and crafty, a Greek rather than a Roman, he represented that new generation who were abandoning ancestral traditions and adopting foreign manners. Flamininus was the true author of that Machiavellian policy which gave up Greece defenceless into the hands of the legions. He has been called a second Scipio, but he has neither the noble-mindedness nor the heroic courage of Africanus. The blood of Philopœmen and of Hannibal lies at his door. It is already noticeable that the Roman leaders are less noble, just as the interests they serve become less worthy.

Titus Quinctius Flamininus.[1]

Flamininus at first did no better than his predecessor. The fruitless attempt made by Sulpicius had shown that Macedon could be reached only with difficulty through the mountains on the north-west, and the attack on the south by the fleet had resulted in nothing but some indecisive predatory raids. It remained to try a direct attack in front. But Philip had posted himself in a narrow gorge between two mountains, descending with abrupt, rocky precipices to the river which occupied nearly the whole of the pass.[2]

For six weeks Flamininus remained before the impregnable camp of the Macedonians. There were skirmishes every day, but

[1] Head of Flamininus, from a stater struck in Macedon.

[2] Livy, xxxii. 5. This defile is now the Cleïsoura pass, at the confluence of the Desnitza and the Zoïoussa (Aoüs).

"when the Romans strove to climb the ascent, they were overwhelmed with darts and arrows which the Macedonians poured in upon their flanks; so the skirmishes were exceedingly sharp, and many on both sides were killed and wounded; but this was not decisive, nor of a nature to end the war."[1]

Discouragement was beginning to be felt when Charops, an Epirot chief, whose country was wasted by the Macedonians, furnished the consul with the means of abandoning this dangerous inaction. He sent to him a shepherd, who, accustomed to lead his flocks through the defile of Cleïsoura, knew all the paths over the mountain, and now offered to lead the Romans in three days to a point whence they would command the Macedonian camp. After satisfying himself that the shepherd came in truth from Charops, Flamininus selected a force, consisting of 4,000 foot-soldiers and 300 cavalry, gave them orders to move only by night, as there was a moon at the time sufficient to light their road, and directed them on arriving at the designated spot to kindle a great bonfire. On the third day, the signal was duly made; a mighty shout rang up from the depths of the pass, and at the same moment was heard the reply from the heights above which commanded the royal camp. The Macedonians attacked in front and threatened from the rear, were struck with panic; they took to flight, and did not stop till they reached Thessaly, beyond the mountain chain of the Pindus.[2]

Coin of Gomphi.[3]

At news of this victory, which gave Epirus into the power of Flamininus, the Ætolians fell upon Thessaly, and Amynander, king of the Athamanes, opened to the Romans, through the defile of Gomphi, an entrance into this province. Philip, not daring to risk a battle, had withdrawn into the vale of Tempe, after pillaging the open country, burning the unfortified cities, and driving the population into the mountains. This conduct presented a dangerous contrast to that of the Romans, who were held by Flamininus to

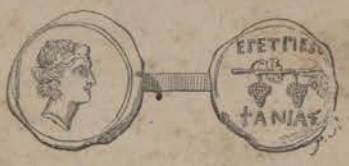
[1] Plutarch, *Flamininus*, 5.

[2] The memory of this event lingers yet in Epirus, clothed however in one of those legends with which the popular imagination delights to invest historic fact. (Pouqueville, *Voyage de la Grèce*, I., p. 302.)

[3] The obverse, a head of Medusa; the reverse, ΓΟΜΦΕΩΝ; Jupiter seated, leaning with his left hand upon a long sceptre, and holding his thunderbolt in the right hand. A copper coin.

the strictest discipline, and had suffered with hunger rather than commit any depredations in Epirus.[1] Many cities, therefore, opened their gates, and Flamininus had reached the banks of the Peneus,

Didrachme of Carystus.[2]



Coin of Eretria.[3]

when the courageous resistance offered by Atrax arrested his victorious march. Near at hand was the important city of Larissa, which the Macedonians held with a large force. The consul fell back.

In this campaign the allied fleet had taken, in Eubœa, Carystus and Eretria (198), "whence they took away a quantity of statues, of ancient pictures, and masterpieces of every sort." The Macedonians found there were disarmed and ordered to pay a ransom of 300 sesterces each.

Head of Demeter, found at Apollonia.[4]

Instead of losing the winter as his predecessors had done, by returning to take up his quarters near Apollonia, Flamininus led his legions to Anticyra, upon the Corinthian Gulf, whither the vessels at Corcyra, his port of supplies, could bring him in all safety the provisions of which he had need. He was here in the very centre of Greece, and while his troops were capturing the smaller cities in Phocis, and besieging the strongly fortified town of Elatea, which they at last took, his negotiations, his threats, the advice of adherents, and new hostilities on the

[1] Livy, xxxii. 14, 15.

[2] Cow and calf. On the reverse, a cock, and the legend ΚΑΡΥΣΤΙΩΝ.

[3] Woman's head. On the reverse, ΕΡΕΤΡΙΕΩ(Ν) ΦΑΝΙΑΣ and two bunches of grapes. Eretrian drachme.

[4] Demeter (Ceres) found by M. Heuzey (*Mission de Macédoine*, pl. xxxii).

part of Nabis, compelled the Achæans to accept his alliance.[1] He had promised to restore to them Corinth, but the Macedonian garrison repulsed all attacks, and even captured Argos, which it gave up to Nabis. This furious tyrant at once proclaimed two laws, one decreeing the abolition of debts, the other, the distribution of lands, showing very clearly the character that all the revolutions of the time assumed in Greece. Nabis, having drawn from Philip all the advantages that he could expect, now went over to the Roman alliance; the rest of the Peloponnesus had already entered it.

Flamininus was desirous to terminate the war himself by a peace, or better still, a victory. Philip having asked for a conference, he agreed to it, and on either side were taken those jealous precautions so much employed in the Middle Ages. The interview took place on the shore of the Maliac Gulf. The king made his appearance in a war-vessel escorted by five barges, but refused to land, and discoursed from the prow of his galley. "This is very inconvenient," Flamininus said; "if you would land, we should converse better." The king refusing, Flamininus added, "Of what are you afraid?" "I am afraid of nothing," rejoined the king, "save the immortal gods; but I have no confidence in the men who surround you." The day passed in vain recriminations; on the morrow the king consented to disembark on condition that Flamininus should send away the allied chiefs, and landed with two of his officers. The consul had with him no one but a tribune; a truce of two months was agreed upon, during which the king and the allies should send an embassy to the senate. The Greeks first made their complaints; when the Macedonians wished to answer with a long speech, they were summoned to answer only to the question, whether their master would consent to withdraw the garrisons he had placed in the Greek cities, and on their reply that they had no instructions on this point, they were dismissed. This was what Flamininus wished.

In central Greece the Bœotians only hesitated.[2] Flamininus proposed a conference. The strategus, Antiphilus, came to meet

[1] Philip had, however, relinquished to the league, at the beginning of this campaign, Orchomenus, Heræum, and Triphylia; also to the Eleans, Aliphera. (Livy, xxxii. 5.)

[2] The Acarnanians remained faithful to Philip up to the battle of Cynoscephalæ.

him with the principal Thebans. Flamininus advanced almost alone, accompanied by the king of Pergamus; he speaks to the deputies individually, he flatters and distracts them; they walk on as they talk, and enter the city, and go as far as the market-place, while a great crowd follows, eager to see a consul, and to hear a Roman who speaks their language so well. But, at some distance, 2,000 legionaries were following; while Flamininus held the crowd in rapt attention, his soldiers seized upon the fortifications, and Thebes was taken.[1]

In this novel winter campaign Flamininus had conquered Greece, had reduced Philip's army to his own subjects, and was now able to meet him in the field. Upon the return of spring, the consul went in search of Philip as far as Pheræ in Thessaly, taking with him 26,000 men, of whom 6,000 were Greeks, and among these Greeks 500 Cretans. Philip, who for twenty years had been wasting his strength in mad enterprises, was able to gather 25,000 soldiers only by enrolling boys of sixteen.[3] Of these 16,000 composed the phalanx.

Drachme of Pheræ.[2]

The diplomacy of the senate rather than its legions had gained the honours of the first Macedonian war. In the present war, the legion with its rapid movements, and its missile weapons, the javelins and the formidable *pilum*, was now to find itself engaged against Alexander's phalanx, a dense mass, whose soldiers placed sixteen deep, and armed with lances twenty-one feet long, seemed a wall bristling with pikes. Since the battle of Chæronea, which had prostrated Greece at the feet of Macedon, that is to say, for 141 years, the phalanx had been esteemed the most formidable engine of war ever invented by man.[4]

The Romans were along the shore of the Pagasæan Gulf, within reach of their fleet; Philip, at Larissa, his head quarters. The two armies were on their way to meet each other, and for two whole days marched side by side, separated only by a chain

[1] Livy, xxxiii. 1 and 2.

[2] Naked figure standing by the side of an ox which he is about to sacrifice. On the reverse, a horse galloping, and the name of the city ΦΕΡΑ in old Greek letters.

[3] Livy, xxxiii. 3.

[4] [*Cf.* note, p. 5.—*Ed.*]

of hills, and neither of them suspecting this dangerous neighbourhood. Imagine Hannibal in the Macedonian camp![1]

The battle took place in June, 197, near Scotussa, in a plain where were many scattered hillocks, called dogs'-heads, *Cynoscephalæ*. The action was begun, contrary to the design of both generals, by the Ætolian cavalry, and Philip had neither time nor means to bring his phalanx into order. Upon the irregular ground it lost its strength in losing its solidity; the shock of Masinissa's elephants, an attack in the rear skilfully directed, and the uneven pressure of the legionaries broke it; 8,000 Macedonians remained dead upon the field. The destruction of this phalanx, which the Greeks believed to be invincible, inspired them with an admiration for the tactics and the bravery of the Romans which Polybius himself shares.

Philip, with the fragments of his army, took refuge in the city of Gonnus, at the entrance of the gorges of Tempe, on the highway between Thessaly and Macedon. Thus posted, he protected his own kingdom; but having neither strength nor courage to continue the war, he proposed negotiations. The Ætolians were eager to push the war to the last extremity. Flamininus refused to do this, boasting the magnanimity of the Romans. True to their habit of sparing the vanquished, he said that Rome would never destroy a kingdom which sheltered Greece from the Thracians, the Illyrians, and the Gauls, and whose existence, he dared not add aloud, was necessary to the policy of the senate to balance the power of the Ætolians. Philip recalled his garrisons from the cities and islands of Greece and Asia which they still occupied, relinquished all control over the Thessalians, and gave to the Perrhæbi, that is, to the Romans, Gonnus, his real sea-port. He surrendered his fleet, with the exception of five transports, disbanded his army with the exception of 5,000 troops, pledged himself never to keep war-elephants again, paid 500 talents,[3]

Coin of the Oresti.[2]

[1] Livy's remarks (xxxiii. 5) confirm ours respecting the difference between a Greek and a Roman camp.

[2] ΟΡΡΗΣΤΙΟΝ, man leading two oxen. The reverse of this octodrachm of the Oresti bears a hollow square, like so many other coins of an early epoch.

[3] M. Letronne estimates the value of a talent of silver at 5500·00 francs. M. Dureau de

promised an annual tribute of fifty for ten years, and bound himself by an oath not to make war without consent of the senate.

After being disarmed, he was humiliated by being forced to receive and to pardon the Macedonians who had betrayed him. Flamininus stipulated even that the Oresti should be made independent, a Macedonian tribe who had revolted during the war, and whose country was one of the keys of the kingdom on the side of Roman Illyria. As a pledge of the fulfilment of these conditions, Philip gave hostages, among whom the Romans required his young son, Demetrius.

While Macedon was accepting these disastrous conditions, Antiochus, king of Syria, at the instigation of Hannibal, was making ready his forces. "In thus placing a peace between two wars," says Plutarch, "concluding one before the other began, Flamininus destroyed at one blow the last hope of Philip, and the first of Antiochus."

The commissioners associated by the senate with Flamininus were desirous that Roman garrisons should replace Philip's at Corinth, at Chalcis, and at Demetrias; but this would have been to throw off the mask too quickly. The Greeks would have understood that with "the chains of Greece" given into the hands of Rome, all liberty must be henceforth illusory. Public opinion, so fickle in such a country, would have been a danger. Already the Ætolians, the most audacious of all, were arousing it by ballads and speeches. They maintained that their cavalry had gained the battle of Cynoscephalæ, accused the Romans of undervaluing their services, and mocked at the Greeks who believed themselves free because the fetters they had worn on their feet had now been put around their necks. Flamininus perceived that the best means of destroying these accusations and of conquering in advance Antiochus, who now threatened to cross over into Europe, would be to employ against him the weapon which had succeeded so well against Philip, namely, the liberty of the Greeks.

la Malle makes a lower estimate, 5216·66 francs, Philip had already paid 400 talents to obtain a truce.

II.—Proclamation of the Liberty of Greece.

During the celebration of the Isthmian games, to which all Greece had gathered, a herald suddenly ordered silence and made known this decree: "The Roman senate and T. Quinctius, conqueror of king Philip, restore to the Corinthians, the Phocians, the Locrians, to the island of Eubœa and to the tribes of Thessaly, their franchises, laws, and immunity from garrisons and tribute. All Greeks in Europe and Asia are free." There was a burst of delight at this announcement. Twice over the assembly would have the decree repeated, and Flamininus was nearly smothered under wreaths and flowers.[1] "There is, then," they cried, "a nation on earth who fights, at her own risk and peril, for the liberty of races, who crosses the seas to destroy all tyranny and to establish in all places the empire of right, of justice, and of law!" Temples were erected to the liberator of Greece as to a demi-god, and three centuries later Plutarch found these edifices yet in existence, with their priests, their sacrifices, and their sacred chants, "Sing, maidens, the great Jupiter and Rome, and Titus, our deliverer!"

Thus this people, who had no longer the ability to do great deeds for liberty, were still capable of loving it, and rewarded its deceitful semblance with the honours of an apotheosis. When Flamininus embarked for Rome, the Achæans brought to him 1,200 Roman prisoners taken captive in the wars of Hannibal, and sold into Greece, whom they now redeemed at their own expense. Only the Greeks knew how to express gratitude in such a way (194).

Rome took nothing from the spoils of Macedon. Locris and Phocis went back to the Ætolian league; Corinth to the Achæan. To the king of Illyria, Pleuratus, was given Lychnidus and the country of the Parthenii adjacent to Macedonia and leading into it; to the chief of the Athamanes, Amynander, all the places that he had taken during the war; to Eumenes, son of Attalus of

[1] Plutarch, *Flam.*, 10.

Pergamus, the island of Ægina; to Athens, Paros, Delos, and Imbros; to Rhodes, the cities of Caria;[1] Thasos was declared free. If the legions remained in Greece it was because Antiochus was approaching, and the Romans were solicitous, they said, after having set Greece free, to defend her liberties.

Flamininus had, however, ulterior designs. Although they had got Corinth, the Achæans were not strong enough to resist Nabis, who held control of Gythion, Sparta, and Argos. This Nabis was a detestable tyrant, whose cruelty is matter of history. Rome, however, had received him into her alliance, expelling him from it when she believed herself to have no further need of him. In an assembly gathered at Corinth, the pro-consul represented to the allies the antiquity and renown of Argos: Ought a Grecian capital to be left in the hands of a tyrant? Whether it were so or not was a matter of small importance to Romans. Their glory in having liberated Greece would be a little tarnished, no doubt, but if the allies did not fear for themselves the contagion of slavery, the Romans would not interfere and would agree to the decision of the majority. The Achæans applauded these hypocritical counsels and armed 11,000 men.[3] This zeal alarmed Flamininus; it was his wish to humble Nabis, but not destroy him. His purposed delays, his demands for money and supplies, fatigued the allies; they soon suffered him to negotiate with the tyrant, who abandoned to him Argolis, Gythion, and the maritime cities (195).

Coin of Thasos.[2]

Nabis therefore remained in the Peloponnesus, an enemy to the Achæans, as Philip in the north, an enemy to the Ætolian league. Rome was now able to call home her legions, for with the deceitful phrase, "the liberty of States," she had rendered union still more impossible and augmented hatreds, weakness, and

[1] Livy, xxxiii. 30.

[2] Head of Bacchus, crowned with ivy. The reverse, ΘΑΣΙΟΝ. Hercules kneeling and drawing the bow; before him a lyre. Tetradrachm of Thasos. (15·32 gr.)

[3] Flamininus had 50,000 before Sparta (Livy, xxxiv. 38), and Sparta was walled only around the lower part of the town.

factions. Each city already had its partisans of Rome,[1] like Thebes, where the bœotarch Brachyllas had lately been assassinated; and these men in their blindness drove Greece into slavery. It therefore was no longer necessary to hold the country in chains; Flamininus unhesitatingly withdrew his garrisons from Chalcis, Demetrias, and the Acrocorinthus.

Before leaving Hellas he offered a golden crown to the god at Delphi, and consecrated in his temple silver bucklers, upon which were engraved Greek verses celebrating, not the victory at Cynoscephalæ, but the restoration of liberty to the Hellenic people. This was the pass word; the Romans desired to figure as liberators, and the Greeks willingly lent themselves to the illusion. In reality, when Flamininus returned to enjoy a triumph at Rome, he brought with him that useful protectorate of Greece for which all the successors of Alexander had striven in vain (194 B.C.).[2]

[1] It is said certain individuals were in the pay of Rome, for instance, Charops, in Epirus; Dicæarchus and Antiphilus, in Bœotia; Aristænus and Diophanes, in Achaia; Dinocrates, in Messene. Polybius, however, praises the virtue and patriotism of Aristænus, and Rome was not fond of buying consciences with ready money. She practised a corruption less ignoble and more efficacious. In all these republics there were, as we have seen, two parties; one of these she took under her protection and raised to power by her influence. This had been her policy in Italy and became her policy everywhere.

[2] Livy, xxxiii. 28. Flamininus, however, did not forget that the senate and the people required of their generals to bring back gold. He poured into the treasury 3,713 pounds of gold in ingots, 43,270 pounds of silver, and 14,514 gold "Philips." (Plut., *Flam.*, 14.)

[3] Hero on horseback, striking with his lance. Gem in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 1850.

Hero on Horseback.[3]

CHAPTER XXVIII.

WAR AGAINST THE KING OF SYRIA AND THE GALATIANS (192-188).

I.—Preliminaries of the War against Antiochus.

THE ostentatious disinterestedness that Rome had just exhibited in Greece—a disinterestedness which no one could as yet understand—was a politic reply to the efforts of Hannibal towards forming a coalition. Brought back to Carthage by a defeat, Hannibal found himself able to seize the authority and commence reforms with a view to regenerate the country. He caused himself to be chosen *suffete*, and with the support of his veterans and the people, he overthrew the oligarchical tyranny which had been established during the war.[1] The centumvirs had held office for life; he rendered their term of service annual. The finances were shamefully in disorder; he instituted a severe reform, compelling restitutions so that the public treasury was able, without oppressing the people, to pay the tribute pledged to Rome.[2]

The troops, regularly paid, were augmented in numbers, and until more important services should be required of them, they were employed in useful labours in the surrounding country. Meanwhile, to avoid a premature rupture, Hannibal banished his emissary, Hamilcar, who was keeping up the war in Cisalpine Gaul, he submitted to the Roman decision unfavourable to himself in a difficulty with Masinissa, and he despatched to the Romans for the war in Macedonia 300,000 bushels of corn.[3] But secret

[1] Carthage had no army whatever in the city, and Hannibal had brought back with him 6,500 of his veterans, (App., *Libyca*, 55.) possibly with more. [One cannot help suspecting that the battle of Zama was intentionally lost by Hannibal in such a way as to compel peace, while saving his veterans to aid his future plan—the political overthrow of the aristocracy, which had ruined his hopes by its faint and disloyal support.—*Ed.*]

[2] Livy, xxxiii. 46. In the year 191 the Carthaginians offered to pay off at once the remainder of the tribute due, and to send to Rome an enormous amount of grain.

[3] Livy, xxxi. 19.

messengers urged Antiochus to attack, while Philip still resisted, while the Greeks hesitated and the Cisalpine Gauls and the Spaniards were in arms.

Cynoscephalæ overthrew his hopes, and soon three ambassadors appeared at Carthage to demand the surrender of this indefatigable enemy of Rome. Scipio had nobly opposed this resolution; his proud courage was ready to meet Hannibal in a fair field and vanquish him, but not to deal him a murderer's blow. The gallant outlaw, however, had long expected this attack, and a galley secretly kept in readiness bore him to Syria (145).

Antiochus III., emboldened by the successes of the first years of his reign, laid claim to no less than the entire heritage of Seleucus Nicator; in Asia, Cœle-Syria, and Phœnicia, which he had wrested from the king of Egypt, the senate's ward, and the Greek cities, whose independence Rome had just now proclaimed; in Europe, the Thracian Chersonesus, where he had fortified Lysimachia with the view of making it the bulwark of his kingdom; and finally he went so far as to include no less than Thrace and Macedon itself in his audacious claims. He gained over Byzantium by making concessions to her commercial interests; the Galatians, by presents and threats; Ariarathus, the Cappadocian, by giving him one of his daughters in marriage; and he sought to purchase the neutrality of Egypt by offering to the young king his other daughter, with the Syrian sea-coast for her dowry.

Coin of Lysimachia.[1]

Vainly the senate multiplied embassies, counsels, and threats. Antiochus replied haughtily, "I do not concern myself at all with what you do in Italy; do not interfere in what I may do in Asia." The arrival of Hannibal decided the king for war. This great man offered to re-commence with 11,000 men and 100 vessels his second Punic war. On the way he would arouse Carthage, and while he should occupy the Romans in Italy, the king should cross over into Greece, gathering all the Greek nations, and

[1] Head believed to be that of Alexander III. On the reverse, ΑΥΣΙΜΑΧΕΩΝ, and a monogram; lion *courant*. Bronze coin of Lysimachia.

at the first news of the Roman disasters would descend upon Italy and give the last blow to the tottering power of Rome. In this way Hannibal desired to attempt with the rich and civilized East that which with the poor and barbarous West he had been unable to achieve. If we had not lost the *Annales* of Ennius we should be perhaps obliged to doubt the reports of these counsels of Hannibal; some fragments from the poet-soldier show the Carthaginian hero less hopeful, and Aulus-Gellius relates a reply of his which would seem to confirm these doubts: "Do you think this is enough for the Romans?" Antiochus asked, exhibiting his gilded troops. "Yes, certainly," replied Hannibal, "however greedy they may be." But this suspiciousness only appeared later when he saw that the king was not willing to be guided by his counsels.

The clearsightedness of envy had made the Syrian courtiers understand that a man like this could not work in the interests of others, and they murmured in the ears of Antiochus that the Carthaginian, if he should remain faithful, must have all the glory in the event of success. Already the visits which Hannibal had received from one of the Roman ambassadors, who repeated them with perfidious intent, had rendered the Carthaginian an object of suspicion.

Among the deputies of the senate, legend places Scipio Africanus, for the sake of bringing together the conqueror and the conquered of Zama, in a conference which was said to have taken place at Ephesus. "Who is, in your opinion, the greatest general that ever lived?" Scipio asks. "Alexander of Macedon, who, with a handful of men, defeated innumerable armies and traversed victoriously immense territories."—"And the second?" "Pyrrhus, who knew better than any other man how to select positions, to arrange his troops for battle, and to manœuvre them upon the field."—"And the third?" "Myself," rejoined Hannibal, unhesitatingly. "What would you say, then, if you had conquered me?" asked Scipio, laughing. "In that case I should have ranked myself first of all." We relate the story because it has been so often repeated, but it is probably not true. It is one of those dialogues which originated in the schools of the rhetoricians. Hannibal and Scipio meeting again after ten years, on the eve of a great war, would have had other things to say than this foolish

questioning on the one hand, and the too ingenious compliment on the other. One only of the ambassadors, P. Villius, came to Ephesus, and had several interviews with Hannibal in the design of detaching him from the service of Antiochus.[1] The attempt was unsuccessful, but the king conceived suspicions of the Carthaginian's fidelity, and, rejecting the latter's counsels, lent his ear to the extravagant and vain promises of the Ætolian Thoas.

The Ætolians had long boasted of having opened Greece to the Romans and guided them throughout the campaign. If their own account was to be believed they had saved both the honour and the life of Flamininus at Cynoscephalæ. "Whilst we were fighting," they used to narrate, "and making for him a rampart with our bodies, he, all day long, was occupied with auspices, with vows and sacrifices, as if he had been a priest."[2] It had been their expectation to inherit all that Philip had lost, but the Romans had not even restored to them their cities of Thessaly, or Acarnania, or Leucadia, or the places they had themselves conquered, which, by the terms of the first treaty, ought to have been theirs. Their interests were sacrificed, their pride was hurt by the disdainful indifference of Flamininus, who had only harsh words for them, and they dared to compare themselves with Rome, meditating war against her, and threatening her with "their camp on the banks of the Tiber."[3] Upon the same day, and without declaration of war, three Ætolian corps appeared before Chalcis, Demetrias, and Sparta. They hoped to carry these places, and, once established in them, to bid defiance to the Romans. Chalcis repulsed them, Demetrias was taken, and at Sparta, where they appeared in the guise of friends, they murdered Nabis, but, giving themselves up to pillage, left time for Philopœmen to arrive and surround them.

The Achæan general restored Sparta, thus set free, to the league, and this exploit of brigands served only to attach Greece yet more strongly to the party of Rome. At the same time, to keep Macedon neutral, the senate let it be understood that it was their intention to send back Philip's hostages, and to remit the tribute he had agreed to pay. In Africa, they incited Masinissa

[1] Livy, xxxv. 13, 14, and 19.
[2] Livy, xxxv. 48.
[3] xxxv. 33.

to harass Carthage, in order to keep the city from yielding to Hannibal's solicitations,[1] and seeing the Carthaginian feebleness against Numidia, and the servile eagerness of her nobles to efface or prevent Roman suspicions, the senate soon ceased to consider Carthage in any degree formidable. In Spain, Cato had lately taken and dismantled all strongholds as far as Bætis.[2] Finally, in upper Italy the Gauls, crushed by numerous defeats, left the Ligurians to protest alone against the subjugation of Cisalpine.[3]

II.—Antiochus in Greece; Battle at Thermopylæ (192—1).

The moment was ill-chosen for attacking Rome when everything was yielding to her arms and she was showing increased prudence and activity, sending the adroit Flamininus into Greece, posting an army at Apollonia, and covering with fleets and soldiers the coasts of Italy and Sicily, as if to repulse some formidable threatened invasion. The Ætolians, it is true, had promised Antiochus to incite all Greece and Philip to resistance. On the other hand, the messengers of Antiochus represented him as already crossing the sea with all the armies of Asia, and with gold enough to buy Rome itself—an interchange of lies, where all concerned were losers. When Antiochus disembarked at Demetrias (September, 192), instead of an army like that of Xerxes, he brought with him 10,000 foot soldiers and 500 cavalry, whom he could pay only by borrowing at heavy interest, and whom he required the Ætolians to provision.[4] The Ætolians, on their side, had not furnished him with a single ally. It was important to gain over Philip, and Antiochus exasperated him by recalling the rights that he derived from Seleucus, and by maintaining the ridiculous claims to the throne of Macedon asserted by the son of Amynander. In his hurried flight from Cynoscephalæ, Philip had

[1] Hannibal had secretly despatched to Carthage the Tyrian Aristo, who was denounced to the senate. (Livy, xxxiv. 56, and App., *Syr.*, 8.) According to Cornelius Nepos (*Hannibal*, 7), this general landed himself at Cyrene and called his brother Mago [?] to him. But the Carthaginian senate in alarm proscribed them both.

[2] Polybius, xix.

[3] The real blow against the Cisalpines had been struck in 193 at the battle of Modena, more than a year before the arrival of Antiochus.

[4] Livy, xxxv. 44. He had, moreover, six elephants.

not been able to pay the last honours to the soldiers who had perished upon the battle-field. Antiochus gathered up their bones into a tomb which he caused to be built by his army. This pious solicitude was a bitter reproach to the Macedonian, and he made reply by sending to Rome for permission to fight against the invader of Greece.[1]

The king of Syria, meanwhile, endeavoured to persuade the Achæans to declare for him, and in a Federal meeting held at Corinth his ambassador, with oriental pomp, made lengthy enumeration of the races which from the Ægean Sea to the Indus were arming in his cause. "All this," rejoined Flamininus, "is much like the entertainment of my host at Chalcis. In the middle of summer his table was covered with the most varied dishes, with game of every kind, but it was only the same viands disguised by a skilful cook. Look closely, and under the formidable names of Medes, Cadusians, and the rest, you will find only Syrians." The activity of Flamininus baffled a conspiracy at Athens, but Chalcis, which he had not time to succour, and the entire island of Eubœa, revolted. Bœotia, agitated by certain ruined debtors, Elis and the Athamanians, always faithful to the Ætolians, followed this example. Many Thessalian cities also, notably the strong place Lamia, opened their gates to Antiochus.

Eubœan Coin.[2]

Hannibal, meantime, reiterated his earlier advice. "It is not a crowd of puny states," he said, "that you need to gain, but Philip of Macedon. Should he refuse, crush him between your army and that which Seleucus commands at Lysimachia. Summon, also, from Asia your troops and your ships; let half of your fleet take up a position before Corcyra,

Coin of Lamia.[3]

[1] Livy, xxxv. 47. Philip, however, asserted (xxxix. 26) that Antiochus had offered him 3,000 talents, fifty decked vessels, and the cession of all the Greek cities which had before belonged to him. These offers undoubtedly were made either too soon or too late, for Philip certainly saw the advantage that Rome was deriving from all these wars, as appears from his discourse to Nicander in Polybius, xx. fr. 7.

[2] Head of Ceres. The reverse, ox head. Drachme (Æginetan) of Eubœa, the island "rich in cattle."

[3] Head of Bacchus crowned with ivy. On the reverse, ΛΑΜΙΕΩΝ, a vase with two handles; above it an ivy leaf; a small vase at the side. Lamian triobol.

the other half in the Tyrrhenian Sea, and then march upon Italy."[1] But in this vast plan the Ætolians and their small interests were ignored; they wasted the campaign in retaking, one after another, the cities of Thessaly, and during the winter, Antiochus, despite his eight and forty years, forgot, in the delights of a new marriage, that he was playing for his crown against the Romans.

The senate had time to complete their preparations. To them any war was a serious matter, and especially one in which Hannibal might once more be an opponent, and Italy once more a battle-ground. They did not, as yet, understand what weakness lay hid under these great names, Greece and Asia, and the successor of Alexander, this prince, ruling from the Indus to the Ægean Sea, guided by the famed soldier, who had destroyed so many legions, appeared to them a very formidable adversary. As soon as hostilities began the senate issued a decree forbidding the magistrates to be absent from Rome, and forbidding senators to leave the city in greater number than five at once. Without oppressing either the Roman people or the allies, very large armies had been collected. One, sent along the banks of the Po, kept the Cisalpines quiet, and closed against Antiochus the passes of the Alps if he should endeavour to come through Illyria; another near Brundusium guarded the Ionian Sea and protected the coasts against a landing; a third, in reserve at Rome, was ready to be despatched towards whatever quarter might be threatened. The fleet was numerous and was daily increased. Carthage and Masinissa had offered vessels, twenty elephants, 500 Numidians, and immense supplies of corn; Ptolemy and Philip had sent troops and provisions. The subsidies furnished by the king of Egypt were not less than 1,000 pounds of gold and 20,000 pounds of silver, and the two princes had engaged, upon the order of the senate, at once to invade Greece. Eumenes, whose little kingdom was threatened with destruction by the encroachment of Antiochus' vast empire,

Eumenes IV.[2]

[1] Livy, xxxvi. 3.

[2] Laurelled head of Eumenes IV., from a tetradrachm.

and Rhodes, the ally of Egypt, had put all their forces at the disposal of the Romans.

When it became known that Antiochus had landed in Greece with an escort rather than an army, and that consequently an invasion of Italy was not to be expected, the senate ordered the legions at Brundusium to send a strong detachment to Apollonia and into Epirus. A force of 2,000 men, united with a Macedonian corps, sufficed to drive the Syrians from Larissa, which town they were besieging.

These preparations, these levies of men, these marchings of armies, this beginning of war, had all been made without consulting the people. The consuls of the year 191, assuming office in the Ides of March, which date at that time fell in January, owing to errors of the calendar, presented in the comitia a declaration of war against the king of Syria. No one complained that an act of such importance should be for this assembly a mere formality and nothing more. The people had become habituated during the second Punic war to leaving to the Conscript Fathers the absolute direction of foreign affairs, which had in reality become too numerous and too important for determination in a popular assembly. This was their first abdication of power, and it is plain that it arose rather from the necessity of the case than from ambition on the part of the senate. The stress of events led to this preponderance of the great council of Rome, as it was to lead, a century and a half later, to the preponderance of a single man. The ambition of the individual or of the few is not enough in human affairs to cause permanent results. These become justified only when social forces establish and maintain them. What declamations history will be spared, when it is recognized that politics are the science of the relative, not of the absolute, and that the best government is that which answers best to the present needs of the people living under it.

The consul Acilius Glabrio, who was sent to take command in Greece, was directed by the senate before his departure to negotiate with Jupiter. In no other way can we characterize the scene related by Livy, which was, moreover, a repetition of what we have already seen:[1] "Following the dictation of the chief pontiff,

[1] Vol. i. p. 598–602.

the consul pronounced the following words: If the war decreed against king Antiochus ends according to the desire of the senate and the Roman people, then, O Jupiter! the Roman people will celebrate in thy honour great games during ten days, and gifts shall be offered upon all thy altars." [1] So the Romans made alliance with Jupiter, and the god seemed to have so well kept like agreements in earlier time that the senators had reason to believe he would accept this conditional promise of honours in the event of victory.

On the Ides of May the army of Brundusium completed the passage of the Adriatic, and effected a junction with that of Apollonia, which had re-conquered many Thessalian cities. Acilius Glabrio was in command, a man of obscure origin, but a vigorous soldier, who among his legionary tribunes could count two ex-consuls, Cato, and Valerius Flaccus. These brave men were again willing to serve the State in the position assigned them.

Coin of Acilius Glabrio.[2]

The consul completed the conquest of Thessaly, and advanced as far as Thermopylæ, where Antiochus, who had just failed in Acarnania in an attempt against the feeblest of the Greek nations, now hoped to defend the pass with 10,000 men.[3] But Cato surprised 2,000 Ætolians posted upon the Callidromus to defend the path by which Ephialtes had conducted the Persians of Xerxes, to turn Leonidas' position. At sight of the Roman cohorts coming down from Œta, Antiochus, who had barred the defile before Acilius, fled across Locris to Elatea, and thence to Chalcis, where he arrived with 500 soldiers; and from Chalcis he made all haste to Ephesus. The battle at Thermopylæ cost the Romans 200 men (July, 191). "Let Athens now boast her glory!" cried the

[1] Livy, xxxvi. 2. It will be remembered that the public games had a religious character. In 178 an earthquake had been felt at Rome; certain individuals believed that they had seen the gods, being invited to a *lectisternium*, turn away their heads, and rats had eaten the olives served as a sacred repast. "To neutralize all these omens of ill, it was decided that the curule ædiles should give a repetition of the Roman games." (Id., xl. 59.)

[2] M. ACILIUS GLABRIO COS. Heads facing each other of Caius Cæsar, and of Julia. Reverse of a bronze medal of Augustus, struck probably in Africa by some descendant of the conqueror of Antiochus. The work is very poor, and we give it merely to show by contrast the excellence of the Roman coins.

[3] Livy, xxvi. 19, after Polybius.

Romans. "In Antiochus we have conquered another Xerxes!" During the engagement the Roman fleet had captured near Andros a great number of transports laden with provisions. Antiochus had not even been able to secure his communications across the Ægean Sea.

To stimulate the zeal of Philip, the senate had conceded to him in advance all the cities which he should be able to capture. Whilst Acilius, directing his measures against the Ætolians, persisted obstinately in the siege of Heraclea and Naupactus, Philip advanced rapidly, and had already made himself master of four provinces. But Flamininus was keeping watch upon him. He hastened to Naupactus, warned the consul of his danger, and persuaded him to grant the Ætolians a truce which disarmed the king of Macedon. Some time before this he had also arrested an expedition of the Achæans against Messene, and in allowing that city to enter the league, he had decreed that in all cases of disagreement it should refer the case to the Roman senate or to his own tribunal, an authority always ready to listen to complaints against the Achæans. By this time, in fact, he had ceased to show any consideration whatever for the league. He had taken away the island of Cephallenia from the Athamanians. "Like the tortoise in its shell, you will be invulnerable," he told them, "so long as you do not extend yourselves outside of the Peloponnesus," and with this he took possession of Cephallenia.[1]

III.—Battle of Magnesia (190); Defeat of the Galatians (189).

On reaching Ephesus, Antiochus felt himself again secure; Hannibal was only surprised that the Romans were not there in pursuit. For the first time, yielding to the Carthaginian's advice, the king went across to the Chersonesus, and there strengthened the fortifications of Sestus and Lysimachia. In Asia he purchased the alliance of the Galatians, sought that of Prusias, king of Bithynia, and gathered a considerable force, hoping to subjugate

[1] Livy, xxxiv. 32.

Thermopylæ.

before the Romans should arrive, the kingdom of Pergamus and the Greek free cities. But 1,100 Achæans, under Philopœmen, resolutely defended Pergamus;[1] and Livius, by a victory between Chios and Ephesus over the Syrian admiral, Polyxenidas, seized with one blow the supremacy in the Ægean Sea. And, although the Rhodians were conquered at Samos, and Livius failed in his attempts upon Ephesus and Patara, the former retrieved their fortunes in a naval battle, when Hannibal himself was defeated; and the successor of Livius destroyed near Myonnesus the Syrian fleet, notwithstanding all that the Tyrian and Sidonian pilots could do to save it.

Coin of Ephesus.[2]

Coin of Chios.[3]

In narrating these naval battles, Livy has given us some interesting details concerning the history of maritime wars among the ancients.

In the Ægean Sea the prætor Livius commanded eighty-one beaked and decked galleys, which were the ships of the line, and a certain number of vessels beaked also, but not decked, and hence lighter and adapted for rapid evolutions, which then, as now, formed a special object of naval tactics. These consisted in three manœuvres: avoiding the enemy's shock, to break his oars, as we now seek to break the rudder or the screw in order to render the vessel unmanageable, to sink him with the galley's beak, or finally to board him. In the two epochs the means of action differ, but the art which employs them is the same. Then, as now, rapid vessels reconnoitred.[5]

Beaked Galley.[4]

[1] The battle of Myonnesus took place, according to the ancient calendar, on the 23rd December, according to the reformed calendar, about the end of August, 190.

[2] A bee between E and Φ. On the reverse, ΔΗΜΟΚΛΗΣ, half a stag lying under a palm-tree. Tetradrachm of Ephesus. The bee is a frequent emblem on Greek coins; it was the symbol of a well-ordered city, or of a colony which had *swarmed* from the mother-town.

[3] A sphinx seated before a bunch of grapes and an amphora. On the reverse, ΗΡΙΔΑΝΟΣ, in a decorated hollow square. Silver coin of Chios (13·65 gr.).

[4] From an intaglio in the museum at Berlin. (Bernhard Graser, *die Gemmen des königlichen Museums zu Berlin.*)

[5] The ancients had also something analogous to our fire-ships. Some months after the

Livius was waiting at Delos for a favourable wind to gain the Asiatic shore. The Syrian admiral, Polyxenidas, warned by his scouting vessels, which were posted from point to point across the Ægean, begged the king to call a war council at Ephesus. He then represented that the Roman vessels, rudely constructed, heavily laden with provisions, and sailing among shoals that their pilots knew but poorly, were clumsy objects easily to be destroyed. He obtained permission to attack them, although the Roman fleet, having incorporated that of the king of Pergamus, counted 200 galleys, of which three-fourths were decked vessels.

Upon the approach of the Syrians, Livius reefed his sails, cleared the decks, and lowered the masts. The battle began between two Carthaginian galleys placed in the van and three Syrian. Two of the latter attacked one of the Carthaginian vessels, which, becoming disabled, fell into their power. The crew were slain and cast overboard. It was an evil omen for the Romans. Livius at once advanced with his flag-ship, giving orders to his rowers when they came up with the enemy to dip their oars deeply into the water in order to steady the vessel as much as possible, and to his soldiers to throw out their grappling irons. The two Syrian galleys were taken, and the action soon became general. The clumsy Roman vessels, well handled by Greek pilots, avoided the shocks of the Syrian galleys, but gave them in return. In a short time thirteen Syrian vessels were taken, ten were sunk, and the remainder made their escape. The action took place off Corycus, not far from Phocæa, and the Romans met with no other loss than that of the two Carthaginian galleys taken at the opening of the battle. The beak of the ancient galleys produced effects comparable, it is evident, to those of the modern ram. In another action, a small Rhodian vessel was able to sink a seven-banked Syrian galley,[1] as at the battle of Lissa, a wooden ship sunk an Italian ironclad by direct shock. To immortalize the memory of the sea-fight of Myonnesus, an inscription cut in the wall of the temple of the sea-gods at Rome, related that the Romans in

battle of Corycus, the Rhodian fleet, surprised by Polyxenidas, was destroyed with the exception of seven galleys, which made a way for themselves through the *mêlée*, by means of the terror inspired by fire carried on long poles in front of the prow. (Livy, xxxvii. 11 and 30.)

[1] Livy, xxxvii. 24.

destroying, before the eyes of Antiochus, the Syrian fleet, "had ended a great strife, and triumphed over kings."

The Romans had good reason to keep alive the memory of these naval victories, for they had settled in advance the question between Rome and Antiochus. The victory at Myonnesus opened to the Romans the road into Asia; what general should lead thither the legions? The consuls of the year 190 were Lælius and Lucius Scipio. The latter was reckoned but a second-rate general. His colleague, who desired to undertake the responsibility, asked that the senate, on which he counted, should abandon the ancient custom of assigning the provinces by lot, and should assign them by vote. The other consul agreed to this, and much debate was anticipated, when Scipio Africanus declared that if his brother were sent against Antiochus, he himself would serve him as second in command; and this promise secured nearly all suffrages in favour of Lucius Scipio.

The two brothers set off for Greece, with reinforcements to increase the army of Acilius, of which Lucius Scipio took the nominal command; 5,000 veterans of Zama volunteered to follow their distinguished general. The Scipios freed themselves from the Ætolians, granting them a truce of six months,[1] then traversed Thessaly and Macedon.

Philip, won over by the return of his son Demetrius and by the remission of the tribute,[2] had made ready supplies, had opened roads and bridged rivers. Lysimachia might have stopped the advance of the army, but Antiochus withdrew from it, and the Romans without conflict occupied the Thracian Chersonesus just at the time when the victory at Myonnesus was driving the Syrian fleets from the Ægean. The passage of the Hellespont, therefore, which should have been so sharply disputed, was made without opposition. The king, at last taking alarm, sought for peace, and tried to gain over Scipio by sending back his son who had been made prisoner. The Roman made reply: "It is too late; the horses are bridled, and their riders are in the saddle. And yet, if the king will pay the expenses of the war, and will abandon Asia as far as the Taurus, peace may even now be

[1] Livy, xxxvi. 7.
[2] Polybius, xx. 10.

made."[1] A battle could deprive him of nothing more, and Antiochus determined to risk one. Lucius made haste to fight while his brother was detained by illness at Elea. The engagement took place on the 5th of October, 190, near Magnesia (ad Sipylum) on the Hermus. Thirty thousand Romans[2] encountered 82,000 Asiatics, fifty-four elephants, chariots armed with scythes, a phalanx of 16,000 spears, camels ridden by Arab archers, cavalry, both man and horse clad in mail, and the like. But this army had everything save courage. It is said that 52,000 Syrians were killed or taken prisoners, while the consul lost but 350 men. The Galatians only fought with courage.[3]

There was nothing to do but negotiate; the conditions were severe.[4] The senate forbade Antiochus to make any war in Asia Minor; they deprived him of his elephants, giving them to Eumenes, and of his vessels, which they burned, as they had burned the fleets of Carthage and of Philip. They forbade him to levy any troops in Greece, that is, to have an army, and, as formerly Athens had forbidden Artaxerxes, to sail beyond the promontory Sarpedon; finally, driving him from Asia Minor, fixed the limit of his kingdom at the Taurus. A war indemnity was to be paid to Rome, of 15,000 talents (£3,500,000); to Eumenes, 400 talents (£93,000).[5] It was further demanded, in order to dishonour the king, that he should give up Hannibal, Thoas, some of his best councillors, and twenty hostages, to be changed every three years; among the latter was specified his second son. And yet Antiochus expressed his gratitude that the senate had not asked more. For the destruction of Macedon and of Carthage, the legions were obliged to return to the attack a second and a third time. Syria fell at the first blow, and, as if the sword of Rome made incurable wounds, never more did she recover.

[1] He gave him, however, the equivocal advice not to fight so long as he (Scipio) was absent from the army. (Livy, xxxvii. 37.) Polybius makes no mention of this, but his Book xxx. is extremely mutilated.

[2] They had with them 5,000 volunteers, Macedonian, Thracian, Pergamean, and others.

[3] Livy, xxxvii. 39, 40; xxxviii. 48; App., *Syriaca*, 31 *seq.*

[4] This treaty was not signed until the proconsulate of Manlius in the year 188. Livy, xxxviii. 38.

[5] Antiochus was to pay 500 talents down, 2,500 after the Roman people had confirmed the peace, and the remainder in twelve years, at the rate of 1,000 talents a year. The treaty is given by Polybius, xxi. 14.

When Manlius Vulso came to receive the army from the hands of L. Scipio, he found the conditions of peace nearly determined and the war at an end (189). But his ambition and his cupidity were inflamed by that rich Asia where triumphs were so facile. Moreover, it appeared to be politic to exhibit the forces of Rome in those countries whence the king of Syria had just been driven out, and where his satraps and his allies were very ready to regard his defeat as their liberation from all control. The Galatians had furnished a contingent to Antiochus; and Manlius proposed to punish them for this. He had neither decree of the senate, nor authorization from the people for this war, but he did without them; and in order to render the expedition more productive for himself, as well as more useful to the Republic, he avoided the direct road, choosing circuitous ways, that as large a number of nations as possible might feel the hand of Rome upon their heads. From Ephesus he made his way to the valley of the Mæander, followed the river up towards the Taurus, and then marched along the slopes of the mountain as far as Termessus, a stronghold closing the defile into Pamphylia. Having exhibited his standards on the frontier of this province, securing the respect of the inhabitants for the Roman name, he traversed Pisidia and Phrygia, and went as far as the banks of the Sangarius. Along the road he extorted money[1] from the cities, the provinces and all the petty princes, who at that time, as they had long been, were independent in their inaccessible retreats, and recognized a master only as they paid tribute to him. As far as the Sangarius, there were only the fatigues of the march to encounter; beyond that river, the war began.

Coin of Termessus.[2]

The Gauls had been for ninety years in Asia. Their fiery courage and love of remote adventure were gone. For all that, and though their strength has been overstated, as was the case in respect to all the adversaries of Rome at this epoch, though,

[1] *Consul mercenarius . . . . vagari eas cum belli terrore per nationes, quibus bellum indictum non sit, pacem pretio vendentes* (Livy). Aspendus, Sagalassus, Telmessus, were each required to pay fifty talents, and other cities in proportion. The tyrant of Cibyra offered twenty-five; Manlius required 500 at first, but finally contented himself with 100, with the addition of 15,000 bushels of corn.

[2] A thunderbolt behind a half horse galloping, and the three first letters of the name Termessus.

moreover, the rivalry of the Greeks and the low price of Cretan and Ætolian mercenaries had reduced the Gauls in the armies of Syria and Egypt, and the time had gone by when the Gauls might dispose of the crowns of these two kingdoms, they still remained the bravest people in the East, and the Asiatic races, trembling before them, saw with delight the Romans now undertake to free Asia from their preponderance. Throughout Phrygia the people welcomed the advancing legions, and at Pessinus the priests of Cybele, speaking in the name of the goddess, promised them an easy journey and an assured victory. Two kings only, Ariarathus of Cappadocia, son-in-law to Antiochus, and Murzes of Paphlagonia, understood that the Gauls were the last defence of Asiatic independence, and came with 4,000 picked men to join the Galatian forces.[3]

Coin of Termessus.[1]

Coin of the Trocmi.[2]

The Galatians were entrenched upon Mounts Olympus and Magaba. These two camps were easily stormed by the consul, as the Gauls used no missiles; what remained of the nation sued for peace. Satisfied with having crushed their power and spread afar, by this expedition against a formidable people, the terror of the Roman name, Manlius imposed upon them neither tribute nor humiliation of any kind. It was a stroke of policy to attach to the Roman interest this nation on bad terms with all the Asiatic peoples. The Galatians were required only to give back the lands they had taken from allies of Rome, to engage not to go outside of their own boundaries, and to make an alliance with Eumenes.

Coin of Ariarathus IV.[4]

Whether from flattery or with real rejoicing at being delivered from these pirates, all the cities of Asia offered golden wreaths to Manlius. A contribution of 300 talents levied on Ariarathus augmented the immense

[1] Head of Jupiter; behind, a sceptre. On the reverse, the name of the city and a winged thunderbolt. Copper coin of Termessus.

[2] Gallic trumpet or *carnyx* and the legend ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗΝΟΝ ΤΡΟΚΜΩΝ (*the venerated* or *honoured Trocmi*) and a monogram. Copper coin of the Trocmi.

[3] Livy, xxxviii. 26.

[4] Head of Ariarathus IV., from a coin.

spoils which Manlius brought home to Rome. But his army in gaining booty had lost its discipline. The general, who upon his own private judgment made war or peace, could not demand from his legions the obedience that he himself refused to the senate.[1] In spite of the ten commissioners who had been associated with him, he returned into Pamphylia, endeavouring to allure Antiochus to a conference in the design of seizing him, and seeking a pretext to cross the Taurus, the limit fatal to Rome, beyond which the sibyl had foretold disaster to Roman arms. However, this

Dying Galatian.[2]

expedition had carried the Roman eagles among the peoples of Asia Minor, and had brought into alliance, or placed under the influence of the senate, all the kingdoms as far as the Euphrates. Returning to Ephesus, Manlius, with the aid of the commissioners, determined the fortunes of the allies.

[1] *Disciplinam militarem . . . . omni generæ licentiæ corrupisse.* (Livy, xxxix. 6.) Earlier, the soldiers of Æmilius had pillaged Phocæa notwithstanding the treaty and the severe prohibitions of the prætor. (Livy, xxxvii. 32.)

[2] This fine statue is probably one of those to which Pausanias refers (i. 25, 7), when he says that Attalus of Pergamus presented to Athens many statues of giants, Amazons, Medes and Gauls, which were placed upon the Acropolis. It is believed that some of these statues were carried to Rome, and three are now in Venice. One of these recalls the *Dying Gladiator*, which we have given in vol. i., page 270. The *Bulletin de l'Inst. arch.*, for 1870, describes them, pages 292–323, and they are reproduced in the *Atlas* of the *Bulletin*, vol. ix., plates 18–21.

In the distribution of the spoils, Eumenes had the largest share,[1] the richest provinces of Asia Minor, and the possessions of Antiochus in Europe; Prusias, king of Bithynia, gave back to him the parts of Mysia which he had taken. The fortune of this king of Pergamus was indeed brilliant; from Thrace to Cilicia all now belonged to him. The senate, however, spared Prusias and the king of Cappadocia, Ariarathus, but obliged the latter to pay 200 talents as a penalty for some succours furnished to Antiochus. Upon the Galatians easy terms were imposed, and Eumenes was refused the Greek colonies which alone were worth more than all these semi-barbarous provinces. Thus the new kingdom of Asia, formed of twenty different nations, without unity, without military strength, without frontiers, and surrounded by powerful rivals, had none of the conditions requisite for a durable State. The alliance with Rome was only a disguised dependence, for already had begun "the custom of having kings for instruments of servitude." No one was deceived on this point, and in the open senate, Eumenes being present, it was said: "The authority of Rome now extends to the Taurus."

Coin of Cyme.[2]

Coin of Colophon.[3]

Coin of Clazomenæ.[4]

The Rhodian fleets had been more useful than the vessels and the 3,000 auxiliaries of Eumenes; Rhodes obtained less, however, because she seemed to be already too powerful. She was forced to content herself

[1] Sulpicius had already sold Ægina to Attalus for thirty talents. (Polybius, xxiii. 8.)

[2] Woman's head. On the reverse, ΚΥΜΑΙΩΝ, the city name, and ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ, the name of a magistrate. Horse *passant*, and a vase peculiar to Cyme. The whole surrounded with a wreath of laurel. Tetradrachm of Cyme.

[3] ΚΟΛ, the first letters of the city's name, behind the laurelled head of Apollo, whose worship was very general along this Asiatic coast. On the reverse, in a hollow square, a lyre, with its key. Silver coin of Colophon.

[4] Laurelled head of Apollo. On the reverse, ΚΛΑ, first letters of the city's name, and ΛΕΥΚΑΙΟΣ, the name of a magistrate, followed by a monogram, the whole surrounding a bird. Gold coin of Clazomenæ.

with some territory in Caria and Lycia, where many of the cities remained free. Along the coast, in the Troad, Æolis and Ionia, Cyme, Colophon, and nearly all the original Greek colonies obtained immunity with new lands and honours. Miletus obtained the Sacred Field; Clazomenæ, the island Drymusa, which commands the Gulf of Smyrna; Troy, as cradle of the Roman race, was aggrandized by the territory of two adjacent cities; Dardanus by the same title received her freedom. Chios, which during the war had served the Romans as a depot for their supplies from Italy, Erythræ and Smyrna, which had resisted both threats and promises from Antiochus, were held by the senate in high honour. Phocæa, notwithstanding her defection, recovered her territory and received her early laws again; Adramyttium, Alexandria Troas, Lampsacus, Elæus, Magnesia ad Sipylum, and others, were enfranchised. But Ephesus, which had been the centre of the military operations of Antiochus, and Sardis, the usual rendezvous of his armies, remained under the king of Pergamus. Finally, the Pamphylians, for whom Eumenes and Antiochus disputed, obtained their liberty and title of allies of Rome. In the case of the Galatians, Rome deprived them neither of their liberty nor their territory, but she had destroyed their military strength, the prestige of their power, and now forbade them to go outside their frontiers. Further east the two satraps of Armenia who had governed that province under Antiochus, were authorized to take the title of king (188).

Coin of Erythræ.[1]

Coin of Alexandria Troas.[2]

[1] Horse and dismounted rider. On the reverse, a rosette or opened flower in a square, at whose four corners are the letters E, P, Y, and Θ. Silver coin.

[2] On the obverse, Apollo laurel-crowned. On the reverse, ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΩΝ, name of the inhabitants of the city; ΠΕΙΣΙΣΤΡΑΤΟ, a magistrate's name; ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΟΣ ΣΜΙΘΕΩΣ, name of the god with one of his numerous surnames; finally the date ΣΑΓ (233). Apollo Smintheus, holding a bow and arrow. Behind the god, a monogram. Tetradrachm of Alexandria Troas. The era to which the date belongs is that which commenced in the year when Lysimachus changed the name Antigonia for Alexandria, and this year was 454 A.U.C., equivalent to 300 B.C. The coin was, therefore, struck in the year 67 B.C. (Note by M. de Saulcy.)

While Manlius was concluding the Asiatic war, his colleague, Fulvius, attacked Ambracia, without formal declaration of war, in order to strike a final blow at the Ætolian league. In fact, the Ætolians had, since the battle of Thermopylæ, been making overtures for peace. The senate, in ambiguous language, required that they should surrender unconditionally. The Ætolian magistrates accepted the terms, but when the consul Acilius explained that these words meant that those who had fomented the war should be given up to Rome, they cried out against it; this was contrary, they said, to the custom of the Greeks. Upon this Acilius, exclaimed: "It well becomes you, insignificant Greeks, to talk to me about your customs, and to instruct me in what it is proper for me to do, after you have unconditionally surrendered to my faith. Do you know that it is in my power to load you with chains?" But upon the entreaty of Valerius Flaccus, the legate, and some of the tribunes, the consul allowed himself to be appeased (191).

The affair, however, was not finally settled, either that year or the next. Not to waste his consulate in the siege of a few unimportant towns, L. Scipio granted to the Ætolians a truce of six months, at the end of which period the senate left them still further time that they might recapture the places Philip had taken. When they had finally driven him back into Macedon, the king of Syria having been in the mean time overthrown, Fulvius arrived with two legions, and obtained possession of Ambracia after a heroic resistance on the part of the town. This city, once the capital of Pyrrhus, was rich in works of art of all kinds. Fulvius required these to be given up to him. Among the spoil were statues of the Muses; these he carried off, and, like a true Roman, in the temple which he built for them, he gave the nine goddesses for a master, not the god of harmony, but the god of strength, Hercules Musagetes. It was in truth as spoils of war that the arts of Greece came to Rome.

Hercules Musagetes.[1]

The Ætolians, left to themselves, obtained peace at the cost of 500 talents, and acknowledged "the sovereignty and

[1] Intaglio in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 1772 of the catalogue.

majesty of the Roman people.[1] They must not admit through their territory any army marching against the Romans, their allies or their friends (*socios et amicos*); they must hold for enemies the enemies of the Roman people, and take arms against them; they must give up fugitives, renegade slaves and escaped prisoners; they must give forty hostages, not under twelve years of age and not over forty, to be chosen by the consul, and also their strategus, the commander of their cavalry, and their public scribe.[2] This little nation had at least ennobled its defeat by its courage, braving for three years the power of Rome. The cities which had formerly made part of the league were separated from it that they might be restored to what the senate called their liberty, but Cephallenia received a Roman garrison. This island, commanding the entrance to the Gulf of Corinth,[3] and looking across to Elis, twenty-three miles away, was to become one of the stations of the Roman fleets sailing from Brundusium to Greece. By occupying Corcyra, Zante, and Cephallenia, three excellent harbours and easy of defence, the senate was master of the Adriatic. Their choice was a good one; the English made the same selection when they wished that nothing should pass through this sea without their leave.

During the expeditions of the two consuls, the commandant of the fleet, without decree of the senate, threatened a descent upon the island of Crete, unless the inhabitants should set free whatever Roman prisoners had been brought or sold thither, and no less than 4,000 were given up to him. Fulvius also had directed active search to be made for all such captives. This was a rule of Roman policy, a condition in all treaties; and this solicitude which did honour to the generals was calculated to secure to them the confidence and devotion of their soldiers.

Manlius, meanwhile, was returning from Asia with his legions hardly sufficient in number to furnish safe escort for his booty. Lying in ambush along the road, the Thracians deprived him of

[1] *Imperium majestatemque populi Romani.* (Livy, xxxviii. 11.) Ætolia was so rich a country, that Polybius (xxi. 3) speaks of an Ætolian who was possessor of 200 talents; he says also that they made a condition of the treaty that they should be allowed to pay in gold rather than in silver; to this the Romans agreed, on the condition that each piece of gold should represent ten of silver, thus telling us the relative value of the two metals at that epoch.

[2] Livy, xxxviii. 11.

[3] [Zacynthus (Zante) really holds this position, and though smaller, is strategically the more important island.—*Ed.*]

half of his baggage, and twice put the army in peril. But Philip was in no condition to take advantage of this opportunity. He once more opened Macedon to the Romans, and Manlius re-crossed the Adriatic, leaving not a single legionary in Greece or in Asia. The senate kept its promise everywhere upon both continents and all islands; the Greeks were free, and after so many conquests, Rome retained not an inch of territory. The comedy, commenced with so much success by Flamininus at the Isthmian games, had been performed. But in withdrawing after having crushed out every spark of energy in Macedon, the Ætolians, Syria and the Galatians, the legions left behind them in every city and State a party devoted to Rome, ready to serve her as police in Greece and Asia. And over against this crowd of little princes and little States rises the colossal power of Rome, with its strong military and political organization, its able senate, its brave legions.[1]

[1] [On the policy of the Romans towards the Greek world, and its successive changes, see the instructive remarks of Hertzberg, *Gesch. Griechenland unter den Römern*, i. pp. 91, *seq.* 131, *seq.* He shows that there were two parties in the senate, the advanced and enlightened Liberals, consisting of the Scipionic circle, represented in Greece by Flamininus, and the old party whom we may call Conservatives. The former, from a genuine love of Greek culture, desired to keep up as much of Greek political liberty as was consistent with Roman interests, and strove to set up such federations in republics through Greece as a make-weight against the interests of Macedon, Syria, and Egypt. But this policy failed, partly through the prevalence of the more thorough and even brutal theory, of making subject provinces beyond Italy, and plundering them for the good of Rome. This was the theory carried out by Mummius, himself an amiable and worthy man, but the agent of a terrible policy.—*Ed.*]

[2] Intaglio from the *Cabinet de France*, No. 1863 of the catalogue.

Horseman with Macedonian Hat.[2]

CHAPTER XXIX.

SECOND CONQUEST OF SPAIN; SUBMISSION OF CISALPINE GAUL.

I.—Operations in Spain (197—178).[1]

DURING the period occupied by these easy and brilliant expeditions, other legions were carrying on in the extreme west, and also in Italy, a murderous struggle against nations whose courage was sustained by the hope of a better life, promised to heroes falling by the sword of the enemy. After Zama, the senate had believed themselves masters of Spain; the revolt of Mandonius and Indibilis, those fickle allies of the Scipios,[2] and the insurrection of the Sedetani, appeared to be the last effort of Iberian independence. But when, in 197, the arrival of two prætors and an attempt to organize Spain into Roman provinces had rendered it evident that the senate proposed to retain what they had conquered, the people of the country who had aided Rome only for the sake of freeing themselves from the Carthaginians, made reply by a general insurrection against the foreigner. The prætor, Sempronius Tuditanus was killed, and this outbreak became the signal of a war destined to last for a century.[3]

The Lusitanians, who had been victorious over the great Hamilcar, and whom Hannibal had not ventured to attack, the Vaccæi, the Vettones, and especially the Celtiberians played the first part in this heroic struggle. Established in the central mountains of the peninsula, upon the high plateau whence the Guadiana,

[1] See map of Spain, vol. i. p. 674.

[2] They had revolted after the departure of Scipio, and had been conquered in a battle where Indibilis was killed. After this defeat they surrendered their arms and gave hostages—corn for six months, togas for the army, and a double tribute for the treasury; at last they surrendered Mandonius and the other chiefs, and the Romans put the leaders to death. (Livy, xxix. 1–3.)

[3] Livy, xxxiii. 25.

the Tagus, and the Douro come down through wild defiles, the Celtiberians were able to cut the Roman communications, while themselves having easy access to the valleys and being able constantly to lend help to the people of the plain. As they had no great cities by means of which the country could be held and overawed, their villages and countless strongholds multiplied the war and made it endless, the taking of each place gaining for the Romans nothing but arid rocks. In the east, on the contrary, and in the south, all along the Mediterranean, there were rich cities—Emporiæ, Tarragona, Carthagena, Malaga, and Gades, whose submission brought with it in each case that of a large extent of country. The people of this region also were cowardly, like the Tudetani, or scarcely true Spaniards by race, and enervated by long commerce with Tyre and Carthage, like the inhabitants of Bætica.

Sober and active, with the patience and will of mountaineers and hunters, at the same time brave even to rashness, the Spaniards even at this early period carried on in their mountains that guerilla warfare which triumphed over Napoleon and the best soldiers the world has ever seen. When they made a close attack they formed a wedge, and this order of battle was irresistible. They used a heavy, two-edged sword, which the legionaries adopted, a sword which made such wounds that Philip's Macedonians were terrified at them.[1] Generally they fought on foot; they, however, possessed horses as swift as those of the Parthians, says Strabo, trained to go down on their knees,[2] and climb mountains rapidly. If they were defeated, but few were taken prisoners, and still fewer could be retained, for the poison they always had with them set them free quickly from servitude, or else, if sent by sea to Italy or Sicily, they made a hole in the vessel's hull and sank her. The women fought along with their husbands, and after a defeat cut their children's throats and slew themselves;[3] the "devoted one" would not survive his friend or his leader, and the old who could not fight were relieved of a useless

[1] *Gladio Hispaniensi detruncata corpora, brachiis cum humero abscisis . . . . patentiaque viscera . . . . pavidi cernebant. Ipsum quoque regem terror cepit.* (Livy, xxxi. 34.)

[2] [This was very useful, when men did not use stirrups, in mounting.—*Ed.*]

[3] App., *Iberica*, 74 (72); Strabo, iii. p. 154, *seq.*

Gorge of the Tagus (see p. 65).

life. Severe to their captives as to themselves, the Lusitanians cut off the right hand of the prisoner and offered it to the gods. "They delighted in sacrifices," says Strabo, "and the victims they offered were their prisoners of war." Here were enemies more formidable than the countless phalanxes of Antiochus. Fortunately for Rome, the Spaniards were even more divided among themselves than the Italians and Greeks, and they were never capable of uniting in any great enterprise or any joint resistance. "Had it not been for this," says Strabo, "they would have been invincible."

A prætor avenged Sempronius. But the war seemed important enough to deserve a consular army. Cato was in command. Many contractors had come from Rome to supply the army. "The war shall support the war," Cato said, and sent them back. The Romans had been driven back as far as the Massiliote colony of Emporiæ, a singular city, composed of two distinct towns separated by a solid wall, one side Spanish, the other Greek, the latter always jealous of its neighbour.[1] A great army was in the neighbourhood; Cato set himself free by a skilfully prepared victory (195); then, having bought the assistance of the Celtiberians at a price of 200 talents, which the conquered were obliged to pay, he caused 400 cities and villages between the Ebro and the Pyrenees to be dismantled in a single day,[2] and he also levied a considerable tax upon the gold and silver mining of the province.

After the time of Cato, and during the struggle with Antiochus, the war languished. But the Celtiberians, feeling themselves menaced by the consolidation of the Roman power in the valley of the Ebro, united with the Lusitanians, the Vaccæi, and the Carpetani; it cost them 35,000 men, slain in the great battle near Toledo (185). The Romans spent many years in blockading their mountains, the centre of resistance, and victories gained in the north and south finally opened to them an entrance. When at last the Vaccæi and the Lusitanians, worn out with the strife, had laid down their arms, Sempronius Gracchus, the father of the

[1] [Such cases are not rare when two races occupy a site, Pekin is an instance, and so was Kilkenny in former days.—*Ed.*]

[2] Livy, xxxiv. 8–22; Polybius, xix. In quoting this passage Plutarch writes *Bætis* instead of *Iberus*, which is the name in Livy (xxxiv. 17), and is easier to be understood.

Gracchi, penetrated to the very heart of Celtiberia and made himself master of 300 villages.[1]

To secure the good will of these tribes he made easy terms with them; he declared them allies of Rome, and placed them under her protectorate upon condition merely that in time of war they should furnish her with men and money.[2] Knowing that civilization alone could render the peace durable, he made it his endeavour to found cities and collect therein great numbers of Celtiberians, giving them wise laws. The good faith and gentleness of Gracchus became renowned in the peninsula; the treaties which he concluded were afterwards appealed to against the cruelty and avarice of his successors (178).[3]

II.—Conquest of Cisalpine Gaul; Italy closed against the Barbarians (200—163).

Spain appeared to be conquered for the second time; the Cisalpine really was so.[4] The Carthaginian, Hamilcar, who had remained there, notwithstanding Zama, with the secret connivance of Hannibal, threw 40,000 Gauls and Ligurians upon Placentia and Cremona, the two great Roman colonies on the banks of the Po (200). A few years earlier this diversion would have been helpful to Carthage; it was now only an annoyance to Rome, though for a moment it caused an alarm by the recollection of the Gallic wars.

Placentia was taken and burned, but the resistance of Cremona gave the Romans time to come up, and 35,000 Gauls, if we may believe Livy, were slain by Furius, the prætor, who received a triumph at Rome in consequence. This sanguinary lesson was wasted. Hamilcar, who made his escape from the battle-field, continued his intrigues, and all the barbarians in the valley of the Po, even the Cenomani, rose in revolt. The Boii especially showed a heroic determination. The senate was obliged to send

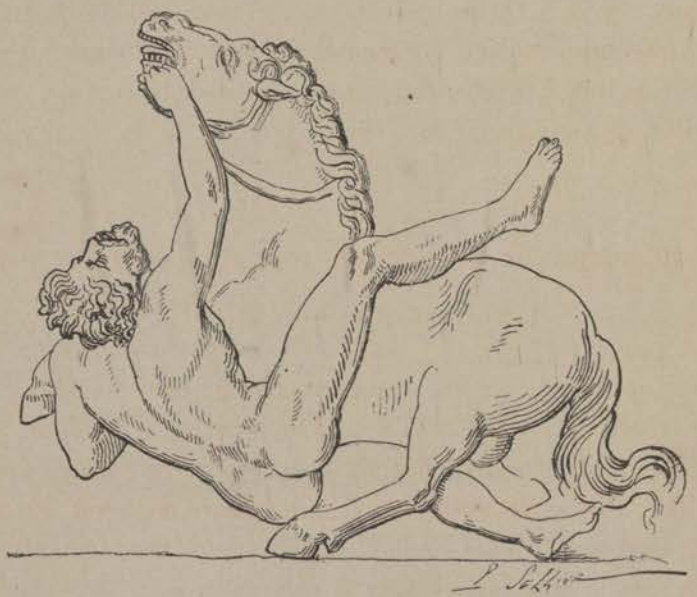
[1] Livy, xli. 4, on the authority of Polybius.

[2] Strabo, iii. 4, 13.

[3] App., *Iber.*, 43–44; Livy, xl. 45–50. He gave the name of Gracchuris to the city of Illurcis. (xli.)

[4] These wars are related in Livy from xxxi. 2, to xl. 53.

against these tribes three armies at once and Scipio Africanus. In the year 193 the senate had recourse to the formula of great public dangers; it was declared that a *tumultus* existed. Repeated defeats at last forced the Boii to treat (192), with the condition of relinquishing half their territory.[2] But when it became time to fulfil the treaty they could not submit to live under the hated rule of Rome, and what remained of the nation sought on the other side



Wounded Gaul falling from his Horse.[1]

of the Alps, on the banks of the Danube, a land sheltered from Roman ambition.[3] During ten years they had successfully resisted fifteen consuls, had killed two prætors and more legionaries than all the wars in Greece and Asia had cost in three-quarters of a century.

Placentia and Cremona were promptly re-peopled; colonists were sent to Bologna and Parma, and M. Æmilius Lepidus[4] completed the military road from Ariminum to Placentia.

[1] Bas-relief in the Capitol, published in the *Mon. inéd.* of the *Inst. archéol.* of Rome. Cf. the whole Sarcophagus on p. 132.

[2] Livy, xxxvi. 39.

[3] Strabo, v. 212. They amalgamated with the Taurisci in Noricum.

[4] This Lepidus, who was twice consul, pontiff, and censor, died in 152. At the age of fifteen he had killed an enemy and saved the life of a citizen. This is indicated by the legend on his coin: AN*nis* XV. PR*ætextatus Hostem Occidit Civem Servavit*. On p. 7 the reader has seen his coin as tutor to the king of Egypt, Ptolemy Eupator.

Coin of Lepidus.[1]

The Insubres (Milan) had submitted; the Cenomani (Verona and Mantua) had often obeyed the Roman power; the Veneti silently accepted it; only the Ligurians still held out. Too feeble to cause fear, they were, however, brave enough to test the valour of the legions. In 189 they killed a prætor; later they defeated a consul, and even Paulus Æmilius himself was in danger from them. It became necessary to renew the devastations

Gallic Prisoner.[2]

of the Samnite war,[3] to cut down vines, to bring the inhabitants down from the hills into the plains[4]—finally, to transport 47,000 Ligurians into the deserted country of Samnium, while Roman colonists were established at Pisa, Lucca, and Modena, to guard the Ligurian Apennines. In spite of all efforts of policy and of arms, these poor mountaineers, abandoned by the Cisalpines, struggled twenty years longer (until 163) against the mistress of the world. A fortress was built at Luna to keep watch over them, and the Aurelian road was built along the coast to bring the legions to the entrance of the mountains.

Long before this epoch the senate had carried to the Alps the frontiers of the Republic, declaring Italy closed against the

[1] Reverse of a coin of the Æmilian *gens*. See preceding note.

[2] From a sarcophagus of the *Vigna Ammendola*. (*Atlas de l'Inst. arch.* of Rome, vol. i.)

[3] Livy, xxix. 32; xl. 38, 41.

[4] Livy, xl. 53; xli. 18.

barbarians, and some bands of Gauls coming to seek homes in the valley of the Po had been haughtily ordered to return in all haste across the mountains.[1]

The founding of Aquileia, to which the Æmilian road led (181), and a new conquest of Istria (177), served to defend on the east the approach to the Cisalpine.[2]

The king of the Istrians, Epulo, had withdrawn into his strongest city, Nesactium, with the bravest of his army. When they saw that the Romans had diverted the course of a river which supplied the city with water, they led their wives and children to the ramparts and slew them there, then killed themselves, their chief setting the example of this fierce courage. If they had fallen living into the enemy's hands, those who survived the first massacre would have been sold into slavery. They therefore took the shortest way to escape the insupportable miseries to which ancient war condemned the vanquished.

Gallic Prisoners and Trophy.[3]

About this time (181) the people of Corsica and Sardinia rose in insurrection. After vain efforts, the Corsicans resigned themselves to a tribute of 10,000 pounds of wax.[3] In the other island, Gracchus, the pacificator of Spain, killed 27,000 Sardinians, and sold into slavery so great a number, that, to designate a cheap article, they said at Rome "Sardinians to sell" (175).

[1] Livy, xxxiv. 54–55; xl. 53. In 118 Marcius Rex conquered the Euganei, who refused to survive their defeat; and Scaurus, the Carni, 115.

[2] Strabo, v. 214; Livy, xli. 11.

[3] From Caristies, *Arc et théâtre d'Orange*.

[4] We find them again in revolt in 163.

We pass rapidly over these wars, notwithstanding the heroism shown by the attacked nations, for history, classing events according to their importance, chooses between facts apparently similar, leaving some and placing others in strong light. What place in the memory of the world is held by Morgarten and Morat compared with Marathon and Salamis? Of these victories, the former only saved the liberties of a small nation; the others saved the world's future. Civilization is interested in the results of the Roman wars in Greece and in Asia, while those in Spain and Cisalpine Gaul concerned only the savage independence of a few unknown and useless tribes.[1]

When we sum up the achievements of the legions in the West during these twenty years it appears that the senate was striving to complete the work begun in the interval between the two Punic wars; to conquer the Cisalpines; to secure the firm possession of the islands of the western Mediterranean, and for fear of a new peril from beyond the Pyrenees, to occupy Spain.

These wars contrast in the vigour of their prosecution with those waged on the other coast of the Asiatic and the Ægean Sea in the design of keeping open the gates of the East. The senate, knowing well, as the Greeks said to Flamininus, how to play at once both fox and lion, had hitherto only cared to dazzle and fascinate the people of that other world. But for them also the time of conciliatory measures was soon to end, and that of servitude to begin.

[1] Livy himself says: *Lacessebant magis quam exercebant Romana arma Ligures et Galli*: and Polybius: "There was never war more despicable."

[2] Rome holding a globe, upon which is the statue of Victory Stephanophoros, or crown bearer. Intaglio in the *Cabinet de France*, 61 millimeters by 43, No. 2071 of the catalogue.

Rome Personified.[2]

CHAPTER XXX.

THIRD MACEDONIAN WAR (171-168).

I.—Last Years of Philip; Death of Philopœmen and of Hannibal.

"ALREADY the Roman people had carried throughout the world their victorious arms. Amidst so much good fortune they had not forgotten moderation, and ruled the nations less by force and intimidation than by the greatness of their renown and the wisdom of their counsels. Humane toward vanquished kings and peoples, liberal with their allies, they asked for themselves only glory and victory. They left to kings their majesty, to nations their laws and their independence."

With these words Livy commences the story of the war against Perseus. The facts had corresponded hitherto and were still to correspond to this magnificent eulogy.

The defeat of Antiochus and the ruin of the Ætolians had appeased the humiliated pride of Philip, but had taken from him the only auxiliaries who might have been able to save him. He now remained alone against Rome, and by the outrages which the senate heaped upon him, he could see that his ruin was determined. As the price of his alliance in the war with Antiochus, the senate had allowed him to retain whatever conquests he might make. Scarcely had the victory at Thermopylæ been gained when his advance was arrested. He was about to take Lamia in Thessaly; Acilius ordered him to abandon the siege. He had conquered Athamania; the Ætolians were allowed time to expel him from the country. Too carefully watched in Greece, he turned upon Thrace and there quietly made some conquests of importance. The seaports, Ænos and Maroneia, received garrisons. But on

this side[1] Eumenes kept watch upon him, and denounced him at Rome. As soon as it was known that the complaints of exiles from these two cities were well received, a crowd of Thessalians, Magneti, Athamani, and others rushed to the banks of the Tiber,[2] and the senate sent three commissioners, who, in order to show the Greeks the humiliation and weakness of this king before whom they had so long trembled, obliged Philip to appear like an ordinary culprit before their tribunal.[4] He had taken from them, the Thessalians complained, 500 young men of the noblest families, he had ruined the port of Thebes in Phthiotis for the advantage of Demetrias, and had waylaid all the deputies whom they had sent to Flamininus. "Like slaves suddenly let free," the king rejoined, "these men knew not how to use their liberty save in insulting their master; besides," he added, haughtily, "the last sun has not yet set!"[5] Of course the commissioners decided against him.

Coin of Maroneia.[3]

T. Q. Flamininus.[6]

Livy and Polybius accuse him of cruelty, which was, however, habitual to all these kings, and the former relates in proof of this a story showing how merciless

[1] The Roman commissioner, Fabius Labeo, had made it a rule in determining the boundary between Macedon and Thrace, after the battle of Cynoscephalæ, to follow the old royal road, which never came near the sea. (Livy, xxxix. 27.)

[2] Polybius, xxxiv. 4. There were so many nations represented that it took three days to hear the complaints.

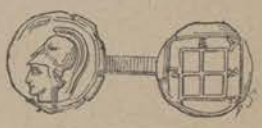
[3] A free horse and a bunch of grapes. On the reverse, the name of the inhabitants (ΜΑΡΩΝΙΤΕΩΝ) surrounding a vine tree in a hollow square.

[4] *Tanquam reus.* (Livy, xxxix. 25.)

[5] *Nondum omnium dierum solem occidisse.* (Livy, xxxix. 26.)

[6] Marble bust in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 3293 of the catalogue. It resembles the coin represented on p. 31. Cf. *Revue numismatique*, vol. i. p. 59, pl. 4, No. 2, 1852; see p. 200, a paper by M. François Lenormant on this subject. A bronze statue had been erected to Flamininus at Rome, opposite the circus. (Plut., *Flam.*, 1.) It is possible therefore that the bust and the coin really show us the features of the conqueror of Macedon.

people were in those times.[1] Philip had put to death an eminent Thessalian and his two sons-in-law. The widows had each an infant son; one of them refused to re-marry; the other married Poris, the most influential citizen of Æneia in Chalcidice, and died after having borne him several children. Her sister, Theoxena, in order to watch over her nephews, united her destiny to that of Poris, and became a real mother to all his children. An order from Philip was presently issued prescribing that the sons of the persons whom he had put to death should be sent to him. Death or infamy awaited them. Theoxena declared that she would kill them sooner than give them up, and Poris attempted to make his escape. He embarked by night with his family to go to Athens, but the wind was contrary. When day dawned they were still in sight of the harbour, and a vessel was sent in pursuit of them. Theoxena, foreseeing this possibility, had provided herself with weapons and with poison. "Death," she said, "is our sole refuge; here are two ways to reach it." Some preferred poison, others the sword; she threw them dying into the sea, and with her husband leaped after them.[3]



Coin of Æneia.[2]

Accustomed though men were to like misfortunes, this tragic end of an entire family excited public horror, and the pious historian asserts that from that day the gods marked Philip for destruction. Rome was ready to become the minister of divine vengeance.

Aces, King of Thrace.[4]

The intervention of the gods was not, however, necessary—policy sufficed, and the king put himself in the wrong towards Rome by imprudent measures which the senate regarded as provocations. It was

[1] Polybius, xxiv. 6. Livy, as might be expected, is very prolix on the subject of the cruelty and debauchery of Philip.

[2] Helmeted head, thought to be that of Æneas. On the reverse, AINEIAΣ, around a hollow square. Tetradrachm of Æneia.

[3] Livy, xl. 4.

[4] Horned head of Alexander, in memory of the god Ammon, whose son the Macedonian conqueror declared himself to be. On the reverse, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΚΟΥ (Aces, king). Minerva Nicephoros seated; under her feet a trident. Gold stater of the unknown king, Aces; unique in the *Cabinet de France*.

wise to open mines, to establish new taxes, to favour commerce; it was not so to endeavour to increase the population of his kingdom by Asiatic measures, which excited against him bitter animosity without bringing him much advantage. The maritime towns were not very friendly towards him, and he removed their inhabitants into Pæonia, replacing them with barbarians. Under pretext of bringing aid to the Byzantines, he made an incursion into the interior of Thrace, defeated many petty kings, and brought back a numerous colony, with which he hoped to recruit his army. Prusias was at war with the king of Pergamus, and Philip sent auxiliaries to the former. Remembering the plans of Hannibal, he sent secret emissaries to the barbarians of the Danube to league them with himself for an attack upon Italy. Their chief promised his daughter in marriage to the king's son. For the purpose of strengthening these negotiations, and confirming his influence in Thrace, Philip founded the city of Philippopolis on the banks of the Hebrus, not far from Mount Hæmus. It was said that from the top of this mountain the view embraced the Euxine Sea, the

Coin of Philippopolis.[1]

Altar of Jupiter.[2]

[1] The legend reads, ΗΓΕΜονεύοντος Μάρκου ΠΟΝΤίου ΣΑΒΕΙΝου ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΠΟΛεως, which means, "Under the hegemony of M. Pontius Sabinus at Philippopolis." The nymph Rhodope, mother of the river Hebrus, is represented seated upon a rock. Reverse of a copper coin of the city built by Philip V. on a hill side near the river.

[2] Museum of the Louvre, Fröhner, No. 40.

Adriatic, the Danube, and the Alps. Philip determined to ascend this mountain in order hence to discern the shortest road into Italy, for despairing of Greece, which he knew too well, he dreamed of repeating the expedition of Hannibal. He employed three days in reaching the summit, which was wrapped in clouds, and built there two altars, one to Jupiter and one to the Sun; but he saw nothing save the fertile plains of Mœsia and Thrace.[1] When he came down, the news of this strange expedition, this fruitless menace, was already on the way to Rome. Some time before this, Philip, in order to lull the vigilance of the senate, had sent to Rome his son, Demetrius, whom a long residence in Rome as a hostage, and also prudent regard for his own interests, had rendered entirely devoted to the Roman cause. With their murderous ingenuity, the senate, sowing discord and hatred in the king's house, made reply that they would pardon the father through consideration for the son. Demetrius soon paid with his life for this perfidious expression of respect.[2]

The Sun Personified.[3]

The senate, in their turn, commenced preparations, using peace to enervate the already feeble nations of Hellas, and working uninterruptedly but quietly for the dissolution of leagues and the reducing of States. Their commissioners were never absent from Greece,[4] Flamininus ever at their head, his influence aggrandized by the dignity of censor, which he

[1] Livy, xl. 22.

[2] Polybius, xxiv. 4 and 5. Demetrius was given to understand that the Romans would soon place him on the throne of Macedon. See p. 84.

[3] Bust in the Louvre. "The young god, with a Phrygian cap, his head raised towards heaven, his eyebrows contracted, his lips parted, the hair thrown back from his forehead." (Fröhner, *Notice de la sculpture antique du Musée national du Louvre*, vol. i. p. 384.)

[4] They went as far as Crete. (Polybius, xxiii. 9.)

had lately enjoyed. Two men in the East hampered the policy of the senate—Philopœmen in Greece, Hannibal in Asia. Flamininus accepted the shameful task of freeing them from these two old men. Philopœmen was now seventy years of age. He did not deceive himself in respect to his country's future; he saw her liberty perishing without even having for its tomb a field of battle. "Are you, then, so eager," said the old general, with sad and bitter resignation, to one of the most zealous partisans of Rome, "are you, then, so eager, Aristænus, to see the last day of Greece!" However, he struggled valiantly. Diophanes having imprudently united the troops of the league with those of Flamininus for the purpose of attacking Sparta, Philopœmen threw himself into the city and defended it against them.[1] On another occasion, when the Spartans attempted to seize a seaport [Gythium] for the purpose of opening a secret communication with Rome, he constrained them to remain in the alliance, and caused their walls to be pulled down, to take from them the desire and the means of defection. Rome required that the Achæans should compel Sparta to receive again her banished citizens; Philopœmen opposed this, not through vindictiveness against the banished, but that they should not come under this obligation to the Romans.

The union of the Peloponnesus into a single State made progress, and the reputation of the league and of its general spread far and wide. Seleucus, Eumenes, and Ptolemy sent them rich gifts by ambassadors.[2] The senate made haste to humble the pride of this confederation, which assumed to manage its affairs in its own way without allowing the Romans to interfere in them.[3] Messages were sent to permit Sparta to separate from the league, but Philopœmen refused the envoys an assembly for this business. They returned with orders from Rome that they should be heard at all times, and they presented themselves in the assembly, accompanied by the exiles from Sparta, whom the day before the

Coin of Megalopolis.[4]

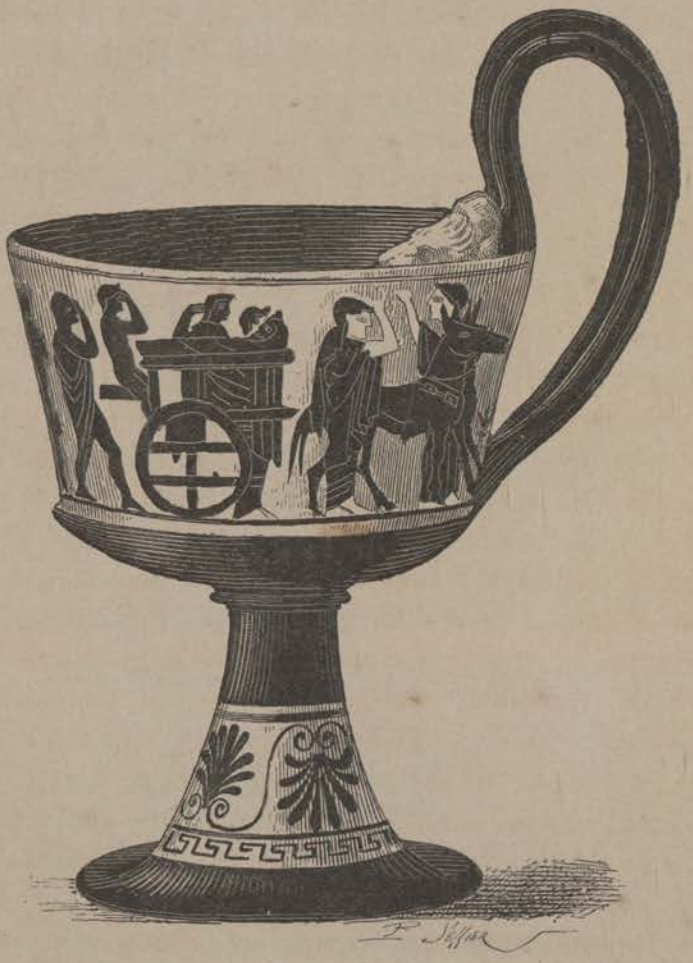
[1] He refused the title of king at Sparta. (Polybius, xx. 14.)

[2] Polybius, xxiii. 6.

[3] Polybius, xxiv. 10.

[4] ΜΕΓΑΛ. Pan seated on a rock, holding the *pedum* (see vol. i. p. 142). In the field, an eagle. Reverse of a copper coin (Æginetan triobol) of Megalopolis, the obverse bearing a head of Jupiter.

Achæans had condemned to death. When Flamininus went to demand of Prusias the head of Hannibal, he passed through Messene. Scarcely had he left the city when a sedition broke out against the Achæans, and at the same time a decree of the



Funeral Scene.[1]

senate was issued giving permission to Corinth, Argos, and Sparta to separate themselves from the league. Philopœmen at this time

[1] *Cantharus* in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 3331 of the catalogue. This one-handled *cantharus* represents a funeral scene, the body of the dead wrapped in a shroud, with the bearded head alone visible, is extended on a car drawn by two mules. Below are seated two women, who appear to be plucking out their hair. The head of a third almost touches that of the corpse. Two others, with signs of grief, walk beside the car. Behind are seen a man, his hand raised to his hair in sign of affliction, a flute player, and five *hoplites* (warriors), armed and lowering their spears in token of mourning; a funereal column completes the scene.

was at Megalopolis. Notwithstanding his age and a recent illness, he went thirty miles in a day to stifle the insurrection; but in an action with the Messenians he fell from his horse, was taken, and condemned to drink hemlock (183). Lycortas, his friend, avenged his death upon the Messenians, and all Greece united to do him funeral honours; Polybius carried the urn containing his ashes. "As they say a mother loves her latest children most, Greece, having brought forth Philopœmen as one born out of due time, loved him with singular affection, and called him the last of her children." [1]

At the hand of Rome Hannibal also perished. Abandoned by Antiochus after Magnesia, he withdrew into Crete and thence into Armenia, whence Prusias called him, to have the aid of his talents against Eumenes. Hannibal defeated the king of Pergamus, but the echo of his victories reached Rome, and he soon saw Flamininus arrive at the court of Prusias. He had caused seven secret ways of exit to be prepared in his house, but when he sought to escape they were all guarded. "Let us relieve the Romans from their terrors," he said, and took poison, which he had always with him (183).[2] Thus perished the man whom Montesquieu has called "the colossus of antiquity."

These two old men being removed, it appeared that Rome would find henceforth only impotent hatreds. In Syria, Antiochus had perished, stoned to death by his own people, whose temples he had pillaged to pay his debt to the senate (187), and Seleucus, his successor, occupied the eleven years of his reign in gathering the money for the tribute. At one time he proposed to draw the sword in defence of Pharnaces, king of Pontus, against Eumenes and Ariarathus of Cappadocia, but Rome commanded peace to the four kings. Egypt, under the tyranny of Epiphanes and during the minority of Philometor, grew weaker every day.

Pharnaces I.[3]

[1] Rollin, after Plutarch. (Philopœmen, 1.) [The details of Philopœmen's policy, which are given in the text very briefly and without criticism, should be studied either in Freeman's *Federal Government*, or in Hertzberg's *Greece under the Romans*, vol. i.—*Ed.*]

[2] Livy, xxxix. 51; Plut., *Flam.*, 28. The same year, it is said, Scipio died in his voluntary exile at Liternum.

[3] Diademed head of Pharnaces I., from a tetradrachm.

Alexandria, moreover, seemed a world so vast and troublous that neither kings nor peoples had any occasion to look beyond it; Carthage was striving to have herself forgotten; Masinissa had just taken from her a third province; she had dared only to complain and to solicit from the senate a vague promise of protection against further encroachments. In Spain the war was about to cease; in Italy almost all the Cisalpine Gauls were submissive; Macedon only remained erect and strong.

Every day, to nourish his resentment, Philip had his treaty with the Romans read over to him. His emissaries had returned from the banks of the Danube. A numerous tribe, famous for their courage, the Bastarnæ, had accepted his offers. To these barbarians he promised a safe way through Thrace, where the terror of his arms had produced a great impression; he assured them provisions, pay, and the fruitful lands in the country of the Dardanians. This people being destroyed, he proposed to let loose the Bastarnæ upon Italy, while himself should rouse Greece and call all the kings to liberty.

But the malicious prudence of the senate was to bear its fruit. Demetrius on his return into Macedon had found there a powerful faction, who desired peace at any price, and at once placed him at their head as the friend of Rome. The partisans of war had for leader an elder brother of Demetrius, Perseus, who being the son of a woman of low birth feared lest Philip might leave the crown to Demetrius. To ruin this rival, Perseus represented him to the king as a traitor, urged on by Flamininus and by his own ambition, to snatch the power from his father. The unfortunate Philip hesitated between his two sons. And the young prince having attempted to flee to Rome, the king resolved upon his death. He was invited to attend a sacrificial feast at Heraclea, where poisoned food was given him (182). It is said that later Philip became aware of his son's innocence, and that in consequence he died of grief (179).

Philip V. of Macedon.[1]

[1] Head of Philip V., father of Perseus, from a coin. (Mionnet, *Supp.*, vol. iii.; Cf. *Mém. de l'Acad. des inscr.*, vol. iii. p. 108.)

II.—Perseus.

After having conquered Perseus, the Romans have striven to dishonour him. Their historians have made use of the rights of war, *væ victis*, and those of later times have done the same. But does not Livy accuse Hannibal of incapacity, while in the case of Perseus he extols the purity of manners, the truly royal majesty of demeanour, the skill in manly exercises and in all labours in peace and war of the Macedonian king?[1] He vaguely accuses him of having killed his wife, and reproaches him distinctly with the murder of Demetrius. But by Livy's own account it is evident that Perseus had reason to believe himself in danger. He represents him as avaricious and caring more for his treasures than for his crown; yet when the cities of Macedon offered him subsidies of their own free will, he refused them;[3] when Cotys had served in the Macedonian army six months with 2,000 auxiliaries, he gave him for his cavalry 100 talents more than had been agreed upon.[4] We shall see by-and-by, whether there was not some excuse for his conduct towards Gentius and the Bastarnæ. Within his kingdom Perseus was able to gain the affection and the devoted obedience of his subjects; without, he so raised the respect felt for Macedon that during ten years he kept the eyes of the world fixed upon her.[5] As to the murders attributed to him either proof is lacking, as in the charge of Rammius of Brundusium, or they made part of that policy of perfidy and assassination common to all kings at that time, and to Rome herself. They who had caused the death of Hannibal, of Philopœmen, and of Brachyllas were not in a position to reproach Perseus with the murder of Eumenes.

Cotys.[2]

[1] Livy: *Nihil paternæ lascivie*, etc. He follows Polybius here, as in almost all that concerns Greece and the East. Perseus was at this time thirty-one.

[2] Head of Cotys III., from a bronze coin.

[3] *Legationes civitatum venerant ad pecunias . . . . et frumentum pollicendum ad bellum.* (Livy.) Upon this accession he remitted to his subjects all that they owed as taxes, and restored to those recalled from banishment their confiscated property and even the revenues during their absence. (Polybius, xxvi. 3.)

[4] Two hundred talents, that is, for 1,000 horsemen. (Livy, xlii. 67.)

[5] *Ipsius Persei . . . . celebrari nomen.* (Livy.)

Doubt has been cast even upon his courage. But he was present in all his battles; he led all expeditions—in Thrace, in Illyria, in Epirus, against the Dardanians, and in Ætolia. At Pydna, having been wounded the preceding day, he flung himself without cuirass into the midst of his broken phalanx. Perseus, therefore, was neither better nor worse than the principal men of his time.

It was said that Philip had desired to leave his crown to the nephew of his former guardian Antigonus, and Perseus hastened to rid himself of a dangerous rival. But he was careful not to come to an open rupture with the senate; he laid his crown at their feet; he renewed the treaty his father had made with them; and for six years he seemed to have no other object than to turn away from himself the attention of Rome. He felt, however, that a menace hung for ever over his head, and that the causes which brought about the second Macedonian war were preparing a third. The completion of the work Flamininus had begun in Greece demanded the destruction of the kingdom of Macedon. The senators of Rome were not the men to ask themselves whether this would be an honourable thing. It sufficed that it would be useful, and they had the art, often practised since their time, of making the victim appear the aggressor. Perseus had never conceived the mad design of playing the part of Hannibal, or of attempting that of Antiochus. He had not even at his command the resources possessed by his father at the time of Philip's earlier struggles against Rome. He could therefore have no other thought than that of organizing in silence and in secret the defence of his own territories. But this he did with energy.

Perseus.[1]

Philip had left him a well-filled treasury; he improved its condition still further, and amassed means to pay 10,000 mercenaries for ten years. He had no fleet; to create one would have been equivalent to a declaration of war. This he did not venture, but he destroyed all his seaports, which were not in a condition to defend themselves. He gathered in his arsenals weapons to equip three

[1] Diademed head of Perseus, from a tetradrachm.

armies and also a store of provisions sufficient for ten years.[1] By his Thracian expeditions Philip had inured his army to war, and Perseus now kept them in training by a successful campaign against the Dolopians, who had proposed to place themselves under the protection of Rome. The Macedonian army at this time amounted to 45,000 able-bodied men. Finally, to gather all his people around him, Perseus opened the prisons, remitted unpaid taxes, and recalled all those who had been sent into exile. Edicts posted at Delphi, Delos, and in the temple of the Ithonian Athene, promised them safety and the restitution of their possessions.

Philip had never been able to make the Greeks forget his cruelty. Perseus sent ambassadors to all their cities asking for oblivion of the past, and an honest alliance in the future. To secure the friendship of the Athenians and the Achæans, he sent back to them those of their slaves to whom his father had given asylum in former years. Thessaly was incapable of self-government, and Perseus took advantage of her divisions, supporting the weak against the strong, the debtor against his creditor, and Macedonian garrisons were soon replaced in nearly all the cities whence the Romans had expelled them. Epirus had turned against Philip with reluctance, and Perseus secretly restored the old alliance. The Bœotians had rejected the friendship of his father; they publicly accepted his in a treaty which was posted at Thebes, Delos, and Delphi. Had it not been for certain well-advised and judicious persons, Achæa would have done the same, and to Perseus the Ætolians addressed themselves in a case of disturbance. Gentius, a petty king of Illyria, alarmed by the neighbourhood and the threats of the Romans,[4] promised auxiliaries in exchange for money, and Cotys, king of the Thracian Odrysæ, engaged to share all his perils.

Seleucus IV.[2]

Prusias II.[3]

[1] Livy, xlii. 12; Plutarch, *Æmilius*, 8.

[2] Diademed head of Seleucus IV., Philopator, from a tetradrachm.

[3] Diademed head of Prusias II., from a tetradrachm.

[4] See in Livy, xl. 42, the accusations of the prætor Duronius.

The king of Syria, Seleucus IV., had given Perseus his daughter in marriage, and a Rhodian fleet brought the bride to Macedon,[1] and Prusias, the son of Seleucus, was only waiting the opportunity to attack in Asia Eumenes, the favourite of the senate. Meanwhile the latter had not failed to discover that the friendship of Rome was sometimes a very heavy burden,[2] and he was seeking to secure that of Antiochus IV. Rhodes, ill-recompensed for her services, and detecting the agency of the senate in the insurrection of the Lycians against her authority, was making overtures to Perseus; and even deputies from the Asiatic cities[4] had secret interviews with him for several days in the island Samothrace. At Carthage his ambassadors were received by the senate at night in the temple of Æsculapius.[5] And, finally, 30,000 Bastarnæ were on the march, and the rumour of their advance struck terror in Italy.[6]

Antiochus IV.[3]

Thus, the work that Hannibal had not been able to do, Perseus seemed likely to accomplish. Encouraged by the universal hatred aroused against Rome in consequence of her ambition, he advanced more boldly. That the Greeks might again behold the Macedonian ensigns which they had not seen in twenty years, he came with an army, under pretext of offering sacrifices to Apollo, as far as the temple of Delphi. In Thrace and Illyria the senate had allies, and Perseus plundered Abrupolis and caused the Illyrian chief Arthetauros to be slain.[7] Two Thebans strove to retain

[1] Polybius, xxvi. 5.

[2] Livy says of him and of Attalus: *Jam enim suspectos habebat Romanos.* He assured to Antiochus the throne which Heliodorus, the assassin of Seleucus, was endeavouring to usurp. The gains made by Philip and Perseus in Thrace had only the effect of attaching him to the Roman cause. However, he offered to sell Perseus his neutrality at the price of 500 talents, or his co-operation at 1,500. After a noble conflict of avarice, says Polybius (xxix. 2, 5, and 9), they separated, like two brave athletes, with equal advantage on both sides. But I am not disposed to believe this story of Polybius, who repeats common rumour, but gives no authentic fact.

[3] Head of Antiochus IV., Epiphanes, from a tetradrachm.

[4] Livy, xlii. 25. However, they had not the courage to declare themselves; in 170, deputies from a large number of them came to Rome. As to the Rhodians, the senate informed them that the Lycians had not been given them as subjects, but as allies and friends. (Polybius, xxvi. 5.)

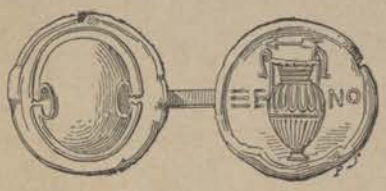
[5] Livy, xli. 27.

[6] A deputation of Dardanians came to ask assistance against them.

[7] Livy, xlii. 13; and Polybius, xxvii.

Bœotia in the Roman alliance, and they fell by assassination.

Eumenes, alarmed at this resurrection of Macedonian power, hastened to denounce it at Rome. He made known in the senate the preparations of Perseus, his intrigues to gain everywhere the popular party, to the detriment of the friends of Rome, and his crimes, real or supposed. "Seeing," he said, "that you leave the field open in Greece, and that nothing has exhausted your patience, he believes that he shall be able to come into Italy without meeting a single soldier upon his way." Eumenes terminated this spiteful appeal by the habitual invocation of the gods.



Coin of Bœotia.[1]

Perseus on his part had sent ambassadors into Italy; they asked permission to reply to Eumenes, and did so with hauteur, almost with menace. "The king," they said, "is anxious to justify himself. He hopes that nothing in his acts or words will be regarded as hostile; at the same time, if a pretext of war is sought persistently, he will defend himself bravely. The favours of Mars are indiscriminate, and the issue of war is uncertain."

Eumenes, loaded with presents, among which were the consular insignia, the curule chair, and the ivory wand, returned home by way of Greece, and Perseus, certain that he would go up to Delphi for the purpose of offering sacrifice to Apollo, posted assassins upon the road. To give access to this famous temple, the Romans had built a fine road; the Greeks had never taken this trouble.[2] Above Cirrha the ascent is rapid, and at a certain spot near a ruin was a mere foot-path, rendered even more narrow by a landslip. Four brigands concealed themselves behind the ruin, and awaited the king who arrived, followed by his friends and his guards. As the party ascended they became more scattered, until, as he approached the ruin, Eumenes was alone with Pantaleon, the Ætolian chief. At this moment the concealed assassins

[1] Bœotian buckler. On the reverse, a vase (*diota*); above it, an arrow, and on each side of the vase ΞENO, a magistrate's name. Didrachme of the Bœotians.

[2] [The Greek system of roads, though not to be compared to the Roman, was very good, and travelling was quite easy. *Ed.*]

rolled down great stones, one of which struck the king on the head, another on the shoulder; he fell fainting, and was believed dead; all fled, even the assassins, who did not suppose they needed to dispatch their victim. They climbed up the mountain with all possible speed, and one of their number being unable to keep pace with the rest, they slew him, that he should not fall living into the hands of the guards, who, discovering their small number, had followed in pursuit.

Altar of Apollo.[1]

The Ætolian, meanwhile, had remained near the king, covering him with his body until the party came up. Eumenes, still insensible, was carried on board his vessel, which sailed at once for Corinth, and thence to Ægina, being carried across the isthmus. The party stopped in Ægina, and profound silence was maintained in respect to what had occurred. The Pergameans, well aware from whose hand this blow had come, were too near neighbours to Macedon not to find it advisable to keep secret the results of the injury or the prospects of recovery. News of the king's death soon reached Pergamus, and Attalus, his brother, hastened to claim the kingdom and the hand of the queen, his sister-in-law.

A Roman commissioner, Valerius, was at this time in Greece.

[1] Bas-relief in the *Villa Albani*, published by P. Piranesi (vol. ii., p. 235, pl. 98). The god holds his lyre, and at his side is the *corytos*, or box containing his arrows and bows, one of which appears to end in a raven's head, and the other in a griffin's. Another bas-relief, in the Museo Pio Clementino (vol. iv. pl. 43), represents the *corytos* carried on the shoulder like a quiver.

He returned to Rome to report the event to the senate, bringing with him two witnesses against the king of Macedon. The first of these was the woman who usually lodged Perseus when he came to Delphi, and who, upon a receipt of a letter from him, had put at the disposal of his agents the house near which the crime had been committed. The second, Rammius of Brundusium, at whose house were usually entertained Romans of distinction on their way from Italy into Greece, and envoys from foreign nations, testified that Perseus had sent for him, and had made him the most liberal offers if he would agree to poison such Romans lodged in his house as should be designated to him by the king.

Perseus, roughly handled by Livy, has naturally had apologists to the uttermost. I cannot admit that the assassination of Eumenes was a Roman fiction, or that it was a venture of obscure bandits. To suppress the king of Pergamus was a most useful measure, and one, besides, affording Perseus the sweets of revenge; two motives, in those times, amply sufficient. In my judgment we should accept against him the unsuccessful attempt at Delphi, while conceding that Rammius, who happened to be in Greece, returning from a journey into Macedon, invented a falsehood to account for his presence at Pella, to curry favour with Rome, and to advance his own interests. For, in accordance with Roman usage, this *delatio* would bring him large recompense.[1]

Hostilities were to commence in the year 172. An incident, curious in the constitutional history of Rome, suspended them. The consul, M. Popillius had, in the preceding year, and without declaration of war, attacked the Statielli [in the Maritime Alps]; 10,000 were slain, and as many more sold into slavery. As at this time many military chiefs believed themselves at liberty to do whatever they pleased in their provinces, the senate found it opportune to give one of them a lesson. The condition of affairs, moreover, was such that it was imprudent to provoke all the mountaineers of Liguria. They ordered Popillius, therefore, to restore to the surviving Statielli their liberty, and also the possessions of which they had been deprived. This was an affront to the consul, and one which the senate had no right to inflict, for if

[1] Livy, xlii. 15–17. Perseus caused a declaration to be made to the senate that the charge was calumnious.

Plateau of Castri (Delphi) and Mt. Parnassus.

he had been cruel, he had at least acted within the limits of his *imperium*. To the tribunes alone belonged the right to summon him on the expiration of his term of office before the people, who might then punish him with a fine or with banishment. The senatus-consultum, therefore, was a new encroachment made by the Conscript Fathers upon the consular authority. Popillius reproached them with it in an assembly which he called together in the temple of Bellona; he condemned the prætor who had made the proposal of the fine, demanded the suppression of the decree, and, instead of a vote of censure, a formal thanksgiving to the gods for his victory. The year passed without the settlement of this difficulty. A year later, the new consuls, of whom one was the brother of Popillius, renewed the discussion, and the irritated senate decreed that for the year 172, the consular province should be the poor Liguria, and not the wealthy Macedon. This delay gave time to complete the preparations planned on a large scale, and the negotiations which were to isolate Macedon. The world remained, therefore, a year longer, anxiously awaiting that struggle which should again raise the problem apparently settled by the victory of Zama.

Would Perseus take the offensive, and in the hope of rousing Greece, come forth from those Macedonian mountains which seemed impregnable ramparts? No doubt the audacity of this course would have made it for a time successful, and his army would have been augmented by some few volunteers.[1] But the kings and the nations who, in secret, so ardently desired his success, would not have dared to furnish him with a single soldier. Antiochus forgot his brother, retained a hostage on the banks of the Tiber, to dispute with Philometor the possession of Cœle-syria, and sent to Rome an embassy with sumptuous presents for the temples, and servile language for the senate. Masinissa, who had just deprived Carthage of a fourth province containing seventy cities, was securing the complaisant silence of Rome at the price of important assistance; but not to expose themselves to the risk of kindling a war in Africa just as the one in Macedon was about

[1] Livy, xlii. 25. *Omnes reges civitatesque .... converterant animos in curam .... belli* (*ibid*, 29). *In liberis gentibus plebs ubique omnis .... erat ad regem Macedonasque inclinata* (*ibid*, 30). But the aristocratic party, everywhere sustained by Rome, was also everywhere the stronger.

to begin, the Numidian was forbidden to drive the Carthaginians to extremities. Eumenes had persuaded Ariarathus to enter into alliance with Rome;[1] Rhodes dared not refuse vessels to the senate; Ptolemy offered them. Cotys, king of the Odrysæ, was favourable to Perseus, but other Thracian chiefs sided with Rome; Gentius, a cruel and profligate prince, demanded immense pay for a sham assistance,[2] and the Bastarnæ demanded for foot-soldiers, five pieces of gold per man, for cavalry, ten, and 1,000 for the officer in command. These extortionate demands justly gave rise to distrust in the king's mind, and he permitted the departure of auxiliaries whose fidelity, as well as their courage, was entirely venal.[3] And so, when the time for the struggle came, Perseus was alone.

Early in the year 171, the senate at last issued the following decree: "For the safety and the welfare of the Republic, the consuls, at the first meeting of the comitia centuriata, will make the following proposition: Inasmuch as Perseus, contrary to the treaty made with his father and renewed by himself, has taken arms against our allies, has devastated their territory, and seized upon their cities, and inasmuch as he has collected arms, soldiers, and ships to commence war against the Roman people, may it please the people, if this king does not give satisfaction, that war be made upon him." The assembly, according to custom, accepted without debate the proposition of the senate. Two legions were at once levied, their effective force being raised from 5,200 men to 6,000 infantry and 300 cavalry. The contingent of the allies was also raised, and fixed at 16,000 infantry and 1,400 horse; the two legions, therefore, consisted of 28,000 foot and 2,000 horse. The disproportion between the two services was excessive, but the war was to be carried on in a mountainous country where cavalry would not be needed. Quite a number of foreign auxiliaries,

[1] Livy, xxxviii. 39; xlii. 19. Ariarathus of Cappadocia sent of his own accord his second son as hostage to Rome. We may observe, as a trait of diplomatic manners at this time, that the senate made a present to the ambassador of 100,000 *ases*, that a house was provided for him, and the entire expenses of his establishment were defrayed during his stay in Italy. This was an obligation resulting from the *hospitium publicum*; Roman envoys would have been similarly received in Cappadocia.

[2] Polybius, xxix. 7. This petty king, whose importance has been strangely exaggerated, did not even fight one battle in defence of his territory, which Anicius captured in a few days. The auxiliaries furnished by Cotys were 1,000 horsemen and the same number of infantry.

[3] Plutarch, *Æmil.*, 12, *seq*; Livy, xliv. 26. [The adverse view of Perseus attributes this declining of aid to mere personal stinginess.—*Ed.*]

Ligurians, Cretans, and Numidians, were formed into a corps of light troops, whose service might be very useful. Masinissa even sent elephants. A senatus-consultum, ratified by a plebiscitum, decreed that for the war in Macedon all the legionary tribunes should be appointed by the consul.

Recruiting was easy. Since the armies in Greece and Asia[1] had been seen to return with great booty, wars in the East had become popular. Only one difficulty arose. With the desire of organizing this army most thoroughly, a senatus-consultum had directed the enrolment of former centurions not over fifty years of age. Many of these officers, not having obtained the rank to which they believed themselves entitled,[2] complained to the tribunes of the people; the affair coming before an assembly over which the consul presided, one of them asked permission to speak. His address will show what had been for half a century the life of a plebeian. Elsewhere[3] we will show what inferences must be drawn concerning the condition of the people resulting from these long wars. "Romans," he said, "I am Spurius Ligustinus, of the Crustuminian tribe, and sprung from the Sabine country. My father left me one acre of land and a small cottage, where I now dwell. As soon as I came to man's estate, my father married me to his brother's daughter, who brought me nothing but her virtue; except, indeed, a degree of fruitfulness that would have better suited a wealthier family. We have six sons and two daughters; of our sons, four are grown up to manhood. I became a soldier in the consulate of Publius Sulpicius and Caius Aurelius. In the army which was sent over into Macedon, I served as a common soldier against Philip for two years; and in the third year Titus Quintius Flamininus, in reward of my good conduct, gave me command of the tenth company of hastati. When Philip and the Macedonians were subdued, and we were brought back to Italy and discharged, I immediately went as a volunteer with the consul Marcus Porcius into Spain. This commander judged me deserving of being set to command the *principes*. A third time I

[1] *Quia locupletes videbant qui . . . . stipendia fecerant.* (Livy, xlii. 32.)

[2] Among the sixty centurions of a legion, there was an order in which each had his exact place; for example, the *primipilaires* were regarded as having a post of eminent distinction.

[3] In chap. xxxvi.

entered as a volunteer in the army which was sent against the Ætolians and king Antiochus; I afterwards made two campaigns in Spain. . . . Four times . . . . was first centurion of my corps; thirty-four times was honoured by my commanders with presents for bravery. I have received six civic crowns, I have fulfilled twenty-two years of service in the army, and am upwards of fifty years of age. Moreover, as I can supply you with four soldiers instead of myself, it were reasonable that I should be discharged. But I wish you to consider these words merely as a statement of my case; as to offering anything as an excuse from service, that is what I shall never do, so long as any officer, enlisting troops, shall believe me fit for it. And now, fellow soldiers, you too ought to be amenable to the authority of the senate and consuls, and to think every post honourable in which you can act for the defence of the commonwealth."

These patriotic words, whose authenticity, at least in substance, is unquestionable, had doubtless been prepared by the consul; the plan succeeded; the centurions withdrew their complaint, and the generals had experienced men to take command of their cohorts.

Religious precautions were joined to military preparations. One of the consuls received from the senate the order to make a new treaty with heaven, vowing "to Jupiter, the good and great, ten days of games, and to all the gods offerings, if the Republic should remain for ten years in the same condition as now."

The senate had at first sent across the Adriatic only a prætor and 5,000 men. But seven commissioners preceded the army; they traversed Greece, where their mere presence sufficed to destroy the effect of six years of prudence and of concessions—a clear proof that Perseus could not, as has been suggested, have trusted to this anchor for his fortunes. In Thessaly, all the cities not occupied by the Macedonians gave hostages, who were shut up in Larissa. In Ætolia, where sanguinary dissensions[1] deprived the people of what little strength remained to them, the Roman envoy obtained the appointment of a partisan as *strategus*, and sent away into Italy all who were known as enemies of Rome;

[1] See in Livy (xli. 25) the massacre of the eighty chief men. *Idem furor et Cretenses lacerabat.*

in Bœotia they broke up the league, and recovered all the cities to the Roman alliance; in the Peloponnesus the Achæans, for a time undecided, promised at last to send 1,000 men to the defence of Chalcis. Acarnania and even Epirus showed a promising eagerness. From the recesses of his mountains, Perseus watched these negotiations of the Roman envoys, and he permitted Greece to be filched from him without risking a battle, as if she were not worth the honour of a struggle. Instead of acting, he negotiated, and after having exasperated his implacable foe, he threw away the one chance that he had, not of conquering, but of falling gloriously, after having perhaps for a while shaken the world.

While the prætor with his small force was taking up a position in Dassaretia, Perseus solicited a truce which Marcius, the head of the Roman deputation, hastened to grant him, congratulating himself on being able to deceive the king by this allurement of negotiating, for the truce was barren of advantage to Perseus, while it gave the Romans time to finish their preparations. "This is Punic craft," old senators said. "Not so," replied the younger, "but only good statesmanship." Whatever Livy's legend may say, this people had never been so chivalrous that Marcius should seem to them too crafty. At Rome the same conduct prevailed. The deputies of the king were kept waiting five months for an answer. When, finally, they were admitted into the presence of the senate, in the temple of Bellona, they inquired, in the name of Perseus, why these armies were on their way towards Macedon, and promised on the king's part satisfaction if they should be withdrawn. Reply was made them that the consul Licinius would soon be in Macedon with an army, that to him the king must address himself if he wished to offer satisfaction, and that, in respect to themselves, they had no reason to remain any longer in Rome, and must before the end of eleven days have quitted Italy. An order was at the same time issued to expel all Macedonians resident in the peninsula, allowing them thirty days to depart. Following them closely, the consul Licinius landed near Apollonia; without opposition he traversed Epirus, Athamania, and the defiles of Gomphi; Perseus was awaiting him at the foot of Mount Ossa, at the entrance of the vale of

Tempe, the only road from Thessaly into Macedon. This long, narrow gorge through which the Peneus with difficulty makes its way between the lower spurs of Ossa on one side and Olympus on the other, was in ancient times extremely famous for its picturesque beauty and savage grandeur. At Sycurium, near the entrance into this romantic gorge, the soldiers of Perseus and those of Rome met for the first time. The advantage was not with the Romans. Licinius got the worst in a skirmish, which would have become a general engagement if Perseus had advanced

Larissa (present condition).[1]

his phalanx. Re-crossing the Peneus during the night, the Roman general left on the other bank, dead or prisoners, more than 2,400 of his troops.

Greece, applauded this first success. But Perseus stood still and asked for peace, offering tribute and the relinquishment of his conquests. The defeated consul demanded that Perseus should place himself and his kingdom at the disposal of the senate. He was not able, however, to justify this arrogant tone,

[1] Baron von Stackelberg, *Picturesque Views in Greece.* Larissa is at the present day decimated by fever, arising from the marshes of the Salambria; and notwithstanding its 30,000 inhabitants, it is a dead, or at least a dying city.

being a second time repulsed near Phalana, and he withdrew into winter quarters in Bœotia, after the capture of a few Thessalian cities. A naval victory and successes in Thrace terminated this campaign favourably for Perseus. The odious conduct of the consul and of Lucretius the prætor, who pillaged the allies shamelessly, increased the discontent; many districts of Epirus declared openly for the king of Macedon,[2] and Ætolia and Acarnania were in revolt.

Coin of Phalana.[1]

A new consul, A. Hostilius, as incapable as his predecessor, now arrived. In traversing Epirus, he narrowly escaped capture. The campaign corresponded to this beginning; Hostilius began with a defeat, and wasted the year in seeking an entrance into Macedon. Everywhere Perseus, impregnably entrenched, opposed him. The two lieutenants who attacked by sea and from the Illyrian side, were not more successful. One signalized himself only by the sack of Abdera; Claudius, the other, posted at Lychnidus, lost 6,000 men in an ill-conducted attempt upon Uscana. As soon as he was aware of the premature retreat of the Romans into their winter quarters, Perseus hastened to chastise the Dardanians, of whom he destroyed 10,000 men, and he employed the winter in capturing several places in Illyria, making 6,000 Romans prisoners.[4] It was his intention to close the approaches to Macedon on this side, and perhaps secure the alliance of Gentius. The latter, above all things, required money, and this Perseus refused to give. Epirus appeared to be in revolt; he hoped to involve Ætolia also, and he advanced as

Coin of Abdera.[3]

[1] Man's head. On the reverse, the name of the inhabitants of the city, and a free horse. Didrachme of Phalana.

[2] It has been said that the whole of Epirus declared for Perseus, but the Molossi arrested his advance on the banks of the Aöus in 170, and Claudius was able to levy 6,000 Thesprotian and Athamanian auxiliaries. (Livy, xliii. 21.) Marcius bought from the Epirotes, in 169, the provisions necessary for the army in Macedon. (Livy, xliv. 16.)

[3] Laurelled head of Apollo and the peoples' name, ΑΒΔΗΡΙΤΕΩΝ. On the reverse, ΕΠΙ ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΩ, magistrate's name, a griffin *couchant*. Tetradrachm of Abdera.

[4] Livy, xliii. 20.

far as Stratus with 10,000 men. But the Romans were already in possession of the city.

This activity and these successes were an invitation to the undecided to make common cause with Perseus; but it was at this very moment that embassies to Rome were abundant. Athens, Miletus, Alabanda, Crete, all renewed their offers of service and their gifts. Lampsacus solicited the title of ally. The Carthaginians had offered 1,500,000 bushels of corn; Masinissa promised an equal quantity, and moreover, 1,200 Numidians and twelve elephants, having before this sent twenty-two elephants and 2,000 auxiliaries.[2] Perseus was still isolated.

Coin of Alabanda.[1]

However, thanks to the incapacity of the generals, this war was becoming serious; anxiety was increasing at Rome; senators were forbidden to go more than a mile away from the city. Sixty thousand men were levied in Italy, and the new consul Marcius brought with him considerable reinforcements to fill the gaps made in the army by the furloughs which the consuls and prætors had sold. To neutralize the effect of the exactions of which the Greeks had been victims, he caused a decree of the senate to precede him, forbidding anything to be furnished to the generals beyond what the senate had ordered.

The Cambunian mountains and Mount Olympus protect Macedon on the south, from which direction Marcius decided to make his advance, and the barrier is a formidable one. Some of his officers advised an advance by way of Pythium, between Olympus and the Cambunian mountains; others, to turn these mountains, where Perseus had accumulated the means of defence, and enter the kingdom through the district of Elymeia, at the pass of the Forty-Fords (Sarandaporos).

[1] Head of Apollo. On the reverse, ΑΛΑΒΑΝΔΕΩΝ, name of the people, and a magistrate's name, ΔΙΟΓΕΝΗΣ, Pegasus, and a thunderbolt. Tetradrachm of Alabanda.

[2] Rhodes, Samos, Chalcedon, and from the Black Sea, Heracleia Pontica, had sent vessels. (Livy, xlii. 56.)

The road from Pythium led to the defile of Petra, defended by a fort built upon a rocky peak, above which towered the summits of Olympus, 10,000 feet high. It would have been imprudent to advance with the entire army into gorges so easy of defence, and so far away from depots established in Thessaly. From Olossona, the road is shorter into Pieria by way of the

Mt. Olympus and the defile of Tempe (from M. Heuzey).

Kanalia, but it was a pass difficult for an army to attain, and from it the descent was still harder, for it would be necessary to follow down the course of four mountain torrents, which had formed impassable ravines upon the eastern slope; seen from below, these gorges showed the great mountain cleft, as it were, from base to summit. As regards the defile of Tempe, a traveller might indeed easily go through, but not a legion, if the smallest body of troops guarded it; and for a length of five miles a beast

of burden would scarcely find room to pass through with its load.[1]

These natural defences accumulated along the road by which the Romans were advancing, seemed almost to forbid them entrance into Macedon. Besides, all the foot-paths were guarded. Perseus, with a skill which has not been properly appreciated, had posted 10,000 men upon the Volustana, commanding the two defiles of Sarandaporos and Petra. He had posted 12,000 with Hippias near Lake Ascuris, probably upon Mount Sipoto, in order to intercept the passage by foot-paths over the mountain. Furthermore, he had thrown troops into the vale of Tempe, and was himself at Dium, behind these defences, to strengthen them wherever they might prove weak, and to avoid being attacked in the rear by sailors from the Roman fleet, he had covered the coast with his light cavalry.

Marcius for some time hesitated as to the point at which he should attempt to break through this formidable line; he finally decided upon an enterprise, whose very boldness would give it the most important results if it should prove successful. He resolved to march around the vast marsh Ascuris with his elephants, baggage, and a month's provisions, and to ascend the plateau Octolophos or the Eight Summits, one of which now bears the name, "the mount of Transfiguration," is 4,900 feet in height. "Thence," says the historian, "all the country was visible from Phila to Dium, and all the coast of Pieria."[2] While the consul was crossing the mountains, the prætor with his fleet was to threaten the coast, and make descents upon it. Marcius had 37,000 men, he hastened with a part of this force against the division of Hippias with the purpose of crushing it, if possible, or at least of holding it in check. A body of picked men moving around Lake Ascuris opened to him on the south the road towards Rapsani, which was defended by the fortress Lapathus; another by

[1] Livy, xliv. 6. Following Polybius, who accompanied the army as deputy from the Achæans, and from whom Livy borrows his exact description of these localities.

[2] M. Heuzey, who has been over the road by which Marcius made this ascent, and believes that he has found the very site of the Roman camp, confirms the words of Livy. "From this height," he says, "you see below you all the sea-coast; in the distance you can discern the vast curve of the Gulf of Salonica, and the city with its walls on the further shore, then the long points of Chalcidice, and even in fine weather Mount Athos." (*Le Mont Olympe*, p. 11.) From M. Heuzey's learned work we have borrowed the plan on p. 101.

way of the west attacked the Macedonians who were posted on the heights. For two days fighting went on, while the king dared not quit the sea-coast to take advantage of the dangerous position in which the Romans were placed. The latter by sheer courage extricated themselves at last. While Hippias, under the stress of this fierce attack, was massing his forces for a desperate resistance, Marcius, concealing his movements behind a cordon of troops, threw himself along precipices and through roads upon the eastern slope of Olympus, whence with extreme danger and difficulty he made his way down to the plains of Pieria. His lines of communication had been cut, but he had forced the passage, and conquered nature.

It was, indeed, over nature that his victory had been gained. "The Romans," says the learned traveller, who step by step followed Marcius among these mountains, "came down precipices into Macedon. I have never seen anything more savage and grand than the slopes of the lower Olympus, which they passed; an immense forest envelopes in its dark shadows a region all crags and precipices. Down the ravines, which are wooded to the very bottom, rush noisy brooks. The vigour and variety of the vegetation are incredible—trees of the plain, which you are surprised to meet at this altitude, evergreen oaks, and especially enormous plane trees rise along the banks of the mountain torrents into the very midst of the chestnuts and almost of the firs. It is easy to understand how in traversing these vast forests a whole army might be concealed from the enemy, who believed them retreating. . . . . These woods are what remains of the forest Callipeuce of Livy. . . . From Skotina,[1] at the foot of the mountain, I strove to picture to myself the great opening cut by the axe and all the disorder of this army tumbling over, as Livy tells us, rather than descending. The cavalry, the baggage, the beasts of burden, which caused the main difficulty, went forward with the elephants, the latter being made with infinite trouble to slide down upon inclined planes; the legions followed. From Skotina it took us at least four hours to reach the foot of the lowest slopes. There upon the

[1] M. Heuzey is of opinion that the descent was made in the direction of the present villages of Skotina and Pandeleimone. This latter, as it were, hangs amid the chestnut trees above the Turkish fortress of Platamona, the ancient Heracleion of Pieria.

edge of the plain were some hillocks covered with olive trees and the ruins of a little monastery of Panaghia. This is the region where the Roman consul, after three days spent in the descent, at last encamped, the infantry occupying the hillocks, the cavalry in front, on the edge of the plain."

A strong rear-guard left upon the heights had concealed from the troops of Hippias this bold movement. And so in ten days from the time when he had received the army from the hands of his predecessor, Marcius had made his plans, collected his provisions, fought two battles upon Olympus, and forced his way through into Macedon. It is a brilliant page in military history.

During these operations, Perseus was at Dium with half of his troops. Alarmed at sight of the legions,[1] he abandoned the strong position he occupied and fell back towards Pydna, committing the unpardonable mistake of calling in the troops which were guarding the defiles. Instantly Marcius seized them, and with this his safety was secured. Re-assured in regard to his communications, the consul advanced upon Dium. But a scarcity of provisions and the approach of cold weather brought him to a stand. He ceased operations, and boldly went into winter quarters in Pieria.

To secure himself from all molestation, and at the same time to keep open his communications with Thessaly, whence he expected his supplies, Marcius caused the little towns guarding the vale of Tempe—Phila, among others, where Perseus had gathered large magazines of corn—to be seized by his lieutenants. Finding himself too much exposed at Dium, where the plain of Pieria begins to widen, he concentrated his forces behind the Enipeus, thus securing a good line of defence for the winter. "This torrent," says Livy, "descends from a gorge of Mount Olympus. Though a little stream in the summer, the winter rains make it an impetuous torrent. It rushes over the rocks, forming furious eddies, and by hollowing out its channel, renders the banks on

[1] Livy maintains that in his alarm he sent two of his friends to Pella and Thessalonica with orders to burn his ships and throw his treasures into the sea. His situation was not desperate to this degree; and, as Livy adds, that ashamed of his terror, he made away with the two persons to whom he had given these orders, it is safe to class this narrative with the others put in circulation by the Romans in respect to his cruelty, avarice, and cowardice.

either side both high and steep." The inhabitants call it Vythos [Βυθος], the *Abyss*, and it well deserves that name.

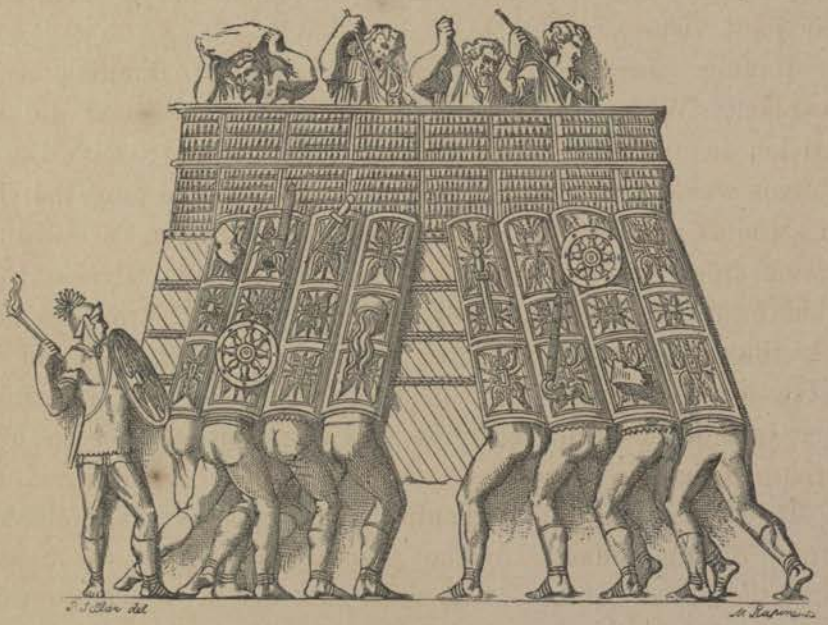
To the south of this furious torrent one place only, Heracleion, still remained in the possession of the Macedonians. To capture it the Romans employed a method of attack familiar to them, which has not hitherto been described in this history. In the games of the circus the young men occupied themselves with military exercises, one of which consisted in forming a roof of shields, borne by sixty or eighty of their number. The outside rows knelt, those in the middle stooped, and the front rank stood upright, all holding their shields over their heads and close together, the whole making an inclined plane, upon which two or three armed men leaped and fought there; this was the *testudo*. The walls of Heracleion were low; the Roman commander ordered the formation of the testudo. Then the soldiers mounted upon this testudo, cleared the ramparts of their defenders, after which the town was readily taken.

The rumour of these successes was beginning to arrive in Rome, when Rhodian deputies, presenting themselves before the senate, made declaration that, ruined by this war, they wished to see it at an end, and that if Rome or Perseus refused to bring it to a close, they should determine upon what measures might be needful in respect to whichever of the two adversaries opposed the restoration of peace.[1] For sole answer there was read to them a decree of the senate, setting free their subjects, the Carians and the Lycians. Eumenes also, whose pride had been wounded, had just abandoned the Roman camp, and Prusias presented himself as a mediator. It was clearly time to bring the Macedonian affair to a close. The comitia raised Paulus Æmilius to the consulate.

The new consul was a man of antique valour, a man of letters moreover, as were many of the nobles of Rome, a friend of the civilization and the arts of Greece, although a devout observer of

[1] [This extraordinary move of the Rhodians was induced by the Machiavellian policy of the consul Marcius, who suggested to them this mediation for the purpose of putting them in the power, and under the indignation of Rome. It also appears from Appian (*Maced.* 12–16) that this consul's position on the Enipeus was over against a strong position of Perseus, which barred all further advance of the Romans. Thus the appointment of Paulus Æmilius was on military grounds expedient.—*Ed.*]

ancient customs; strict with the soldiers and the people, indifferent to popularity gained in the Forum, and a merit becoming every day more rare, a man of principle. "No one," says an old writer, who by this very utterance makes a grave charge against his contemporaries, "no one would have dared offer him money." In war he had not always been successful; the Lusitanians had defeated him, and after his first consulate (182), the Ligurians had well-nigh destroyed his entire army. But he had avenged



A *Testudo*.[1]

himself upon the former by a victory in which he slew 18,000 men, and he had compelled the latter to swear at Rome that they would never again take arms except by order of the senate, and these two campaigns had established his military reputation. Later he had solicited a second consulship, but in vain, and from that time, retiring from public life, had devoted himself to the education of his children. He was now elected consul, without solicitation on his part, and in spite of his sixty years, he displayed the activity of a young and careful general.

[1] Bas-relief from the column of Antoninus. Body of soldiers making the *testudo* advancing to assail a place or perhaps to set fire to wooden ramparts.

Gentius, deceived by a promise of 300 talents, had at last declared against Rome. Eumenes had opened secret negotiations with Perseus; the Rhodians had almost gone over publicly to his side, and the Macedonian fleet ruled the Ægean Sea and the Cyclades. But Perseus had just deprived himself of the support of 20,000 Gauls whom he had summoned from the banks of the Danube; he had refused them the promised pay, at a moment when he would have done well to double it to obtain their help, even though that assistance might have become a danger after their joint victory.

Having ascertained all these facts, Paulus Æmilius arranged his plan. With the army of Marcius he proposed to attack Macedon in front and drive the king before him; with the fleet, Octavius would form the right wing, and after sweeping the Ægean Sea, would menace the coasts with the purpose of disturbing Perseus from the rear; Amicius, with the two Illyrian legions, would form the left wing, and having crushed Gentius, would fall back through Dassaretia into Macedon. Eighty thousand men, at the least estimate,[1] were to be in the field, and Licinius, the other consul, held in readiness an army on the shore of the Adriatic to hasten, if necessary, to the help of his colleague.

Before leaving Rome, Paulus Æmilius had taken occasion to address certain counsels to the people, which show us in ancient Rome the same habits of thought and action which prevail in modern capitals. After promising to use every means in his power to bring the war to a conclusion becoming the majesty of the Roman people, he went on to say, "Do you give full credit to whatever I shall write to you or to the senate, but do not by your credulity encourage mere rumours, of which no man shall appear as the responsible author. In every circle and truly at every table there are people who lead armies into Macedon, who know where the camp ought to be placed, what posts ought to be occupied by troops, when and through what pass Macedon should be entered, what magazines should be formed, how provisions should be conveyed by land and sea, when it is proper to engage the enemy, when to lie quiet. And they not only

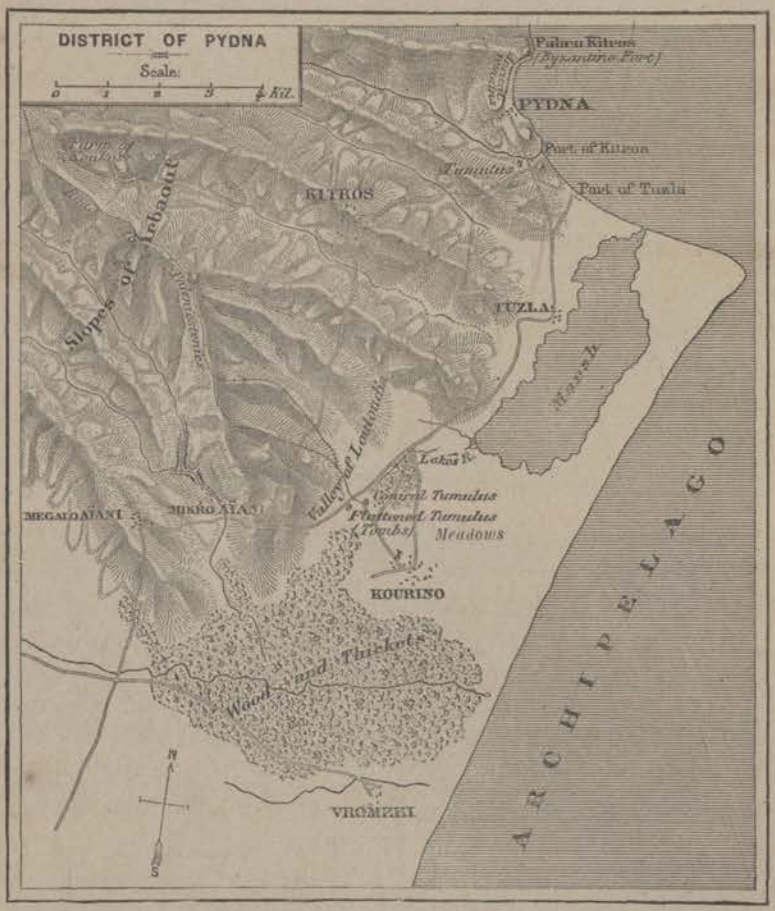
[1] Polybius and Plutarch (*Æmil.*, 12) say 100,000, but these included garrisons.

determine what is best to be done, but if any thing is done in any other manner than what they have pointed out, they arraign the consul as if he were on his trial. These are great impediments to those who have the management of affairs, for every one cannot encounter injurious reports with the same constancy and firmness of mind as Fabius did. I am not one of those who think that commanders ought never to receive advice; on the contrary, I should deem that man more proud than wise who did everything on his own single judgment . . . . If, therefore, any one thinks himself qualified, respecting the war which I am to conduct, to give advice which may prove advantageous to the public, let him not refuse his assistance to the State, but let him come with me into Macedon; he shall be furnished by me with a ship, a horse, a tent, and even with the costs of his journey. But if he thinks this too much trouble, and prefers the repose of a city life to the toils of war, let him not, on land, assume the office of a pilot. The city in itself furnishes abundance of topics for conversation; let it set limits to its passion for talking, and rest assured that we shall be content with such counsels as shall be framed within our camp."

In camp Paulus Æmilius first occupied himself with restoring Roman discipline to its former vigour. He filled the soldiers' idle time with useful labours, and brought military exercises again into repute; to increase the vigilance of the sentinels, he forbade them when on duty to carry their shields; the general's orders had hitherto been proclaimed aloud, so that often the enemy could overhear them; he now directed that the military tribunes should communicate to the centurions personally, and thus they should be passed through the army. The advanced guards had hitherto been kept on duty all day; he now ordered them to be relieved at noon, so that in case of attack the enemy should find at the outposts fresh and active men.

Perseus was encamped behind the Enipeus in the strong position we have described. By a feigned attack kept up for two days the consul endeavoured to keep him there, while Scipio Nasica, with a picked force of 11,000 men, returned into the vale of Tempe, and making a circuit around the foot of Mount Olympus, arrived by way of Pythium at the defile of Petra. The king had

had his suspicions awakened, and 12,000 Macedonians barred the road. They were poor troops, the better soldiers having been retained in the phalanx, confronting Paulus Æmilius; they had not even the ability to select advantageous positions, and Nasica easily got the better of them. He followed sharply upon the



Environs of Pydna.[1]

fugitives' track, and made a capture of the fort Petra, which they did not even attempt to defend; thence he came down into the

[1] Heuzey, *Mission de Macédoine*, plan D.

plain of Katerini, and Perseus seeing himself between two fires, broke up his camp on the banks of the Enipeus and retired to Pydna, to the northward of Katerini.

A plain, most advantageous for the phalanx, stretched before the city, and Perseus, who could no longer fall back, without shame and disaster, resolved to offer battle. The night before the action an eclipse of the moon alarmed the Macedonians; by order of the consul, Sulpicius Gallus explained the phenomenon to the legions (June 22, 68).[1] A few days before, the army

Funeral Couch in Marble found in a Tomb at Pydna.[2]

had been suffering from thirst; judging from the slope of the mountains, he caused the soldiers to dig in the sand, and soon an abundant supply was obtained. The soldiers believed their leader inspired and loudly clamoured to be led against the enemy. But Paulus Æmilius, shut up between the sea and the mountains, with an army of 43,000 men before him, was unwilling to trust anything to chance. It was not until he had thoroughly fortified his camp that he felt himself ready to risk a decisive action.[3] The Macedonians attacked with fury, and it was with

[1] This eclipse was not, as is usually asserted, predicted the evening before; it was explained on the day after it occurred. (Cic., *de Rep.*, i. 15.) Hipparchus, the great astronomer, a contemporary of Paulus Æmilius, could have explained it, but not Gallus.

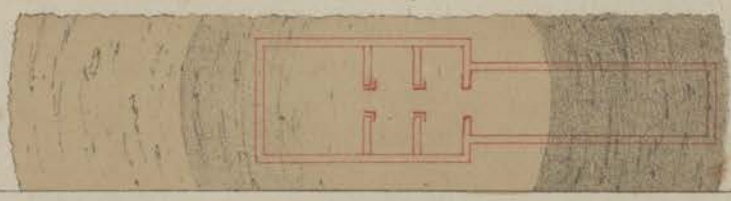
[2] Heuzey, *Mission de Macédoine*, pl. 20, fig. 1.

[3] According to M. Heuzey, Nasica, descending the valley of the Mavroneri on the day before the battle, rejoined the consul, who had come by the way of Sphigi. Paulus Æmilius

Pr. Benoist, del. Imp. Fraillery.

MACEDONIAN TOMB FROM PYDNA

After Heuzey



Plan of the Tomb

surprise and a kind of terror that the consul observed the firmness of the serried ranks and the bristling rampart of outstretched pikes. He however concealed his apprehension, and to inspire confidence among his troops, he moved about without wearing either helmet or cuirass.

At first the phalanx overthrew everything that opposed it, but being drawn on by success to a distance from the place which Perseus had assigned to it, the inequalities of the ground and the movement of the march created gaps in the ranks, into which Paulus Æmilius threw his men. From this time it was as it had been at Cynoscephalæ; the shaken and broken phalanx lost its strength. Instead of a united attack, there were a thousand separate conflicts; the whole phalanx, that is to say, 20,000 men, were left upon the field, and the stream traversing it ran red with blood till the next day. The Romans confessed to a loss of but 100 men, which is, however, improbable, and they made 11,000 prisoners. Pydna was given over to sack and pillage; its very ruins have disappeared, but as is natural in such a place, tombs mark the spot where stood the flourishing city, and the memory of the day when Macedon fell lives yet confusedly in the legend, graceful, and yet terrible, which they tell at Palæo-Kitros. In the place which was unquestionably the scene of the main action, lilies of a peculiar species carpet the soil; the people of the country call it "the valley of flowers (*Louloudia*)," and they assert that these lilies spring from the human blood shed there in a great battle.[2]

Coin of Pella.[1]

established his camp on the higher portion of the plain between the Mavroneri and the Pelikas. Along this river the battle began, and the fugitives from the first line fled to Mount Olocros; the action, however, swept northward, and terminated near Aïani.

[1] Head of Minerva. On the reverse, ΠΕΛΑΗΣ; an ass feeding. Copper coin of Pella.

[2] Heuzey, *Mission de Macédoine*, p. 242. Near the place where Pydna stood, at Kourino, great tumuli are still visible, one of which may have been raised to the memory of the Roman soldiers who fell here in battle, as the Athenians raised a tumulus to the heroes of Marathon. In one of them M. Heuzey saw a bas-relief in white marble representing a Roman soldier in armour. "To reach the sepulchral chamber we follow an arched passage leading underground. A door with sideposts inclined, after the Doric style, gives access to a little cell and then to a second, whose entrance has a setting of white marble. The one represented by the chromo-lithograph leads to the third chamber, which is nearly four meters in length by three in width, with a vaulted roof." It had previously been examined, and M. Heuzey found

From the field of battle Perseus fled to Pella. This capital, situated on a hill and surrounded by morasses impassable in summer as well as in winter, was easily to be defended, but the king

The Victory of Samothrace.[1]

had no army left, and the inhabitants gave way to the general

nothing in it. But in another tumulus he saw a funereal couch of white marble, which must have been destined to receive the body of some important personage, either before or after the Roman victory, for the city recovered itself in some degree after the sack, although never attaining again its early importance. (Heuzey, *Le Mont Olympe*, p. 172 *et sup.*, and *Mission de Macédoine*, pl. 20.)

[1] A magnificent colossal statue of the epoch of the successors of Alexander, much resembling in style the school of Phidias. It was discovered in 1863 behind the ruins of a Doric temple, at some distance from the ancient city of Samothrace (Palæopolis). Museum of the Louvre; Cf. Frölner, *Notice de la Sculpture antique*, p. 434.

discouragement. He was advised to withdraw into the mountainous provinces adjacent to Thrace and undertake a guerilla warfare; he sounded the disposition of the Bisaltians, and urged the citizens of Amphipolis to defend their city in order that he might have access to the sea.[1] On every side he encountered only refusals and reproaches; he learned also that all the towns were opening their gates to the Romans before even they were attacked. Alone and destitute, he asked for peace, and while waiting for the consul's reply he took refuge with his family and his treasures in the inviolable sanctuary of Samothrace.

In his letter Perseus still took the title of king. Paulus Æmilius on this account refused to read it, and a second letter, in which this title was omitted, obtained for reply nothing more than an order to surrender with all his treasures. Perseus now essayed to escape and join Cotys in Thrace, but the fleet of Octavius, the prætor, guarded the island, and a Cretan who had promised to take the king on board his ship disappeared with the money which he had received in advance. Finally, a traitor gave up to the prætor the younger children of Perseus, and the king himself, with his eldest son, surrendered to Octavius. Paulus Æmilius, touched by so great misfortunes, received him kindly,[2] entertained him at his own table, and recommended him to have confidence in the clemency of the Roman people (168).

Even before the battle of Pydna, Anicius had besieged Gentius in Scodra, his capital, and forced that prince to surrender; thirty days had sufficed for this conquest, which had not even cost a battle.

Paulus Æmilius and Perseus.[3]

While waiting for the arrival of the commissioners of the senate, Paulus Æmilius made a journey through Greece to visit its chief objects of interest. He went up to Delphi and caused his own statue to be erected on the pedestal destined to receive that of Perseus; he saw the cave of Trophonius, Chalcis, and the Euripus, with

[1] These facts, reported by Livy (xliv. 45), contradict the story of Perseus' cowardly despair after Pydna.

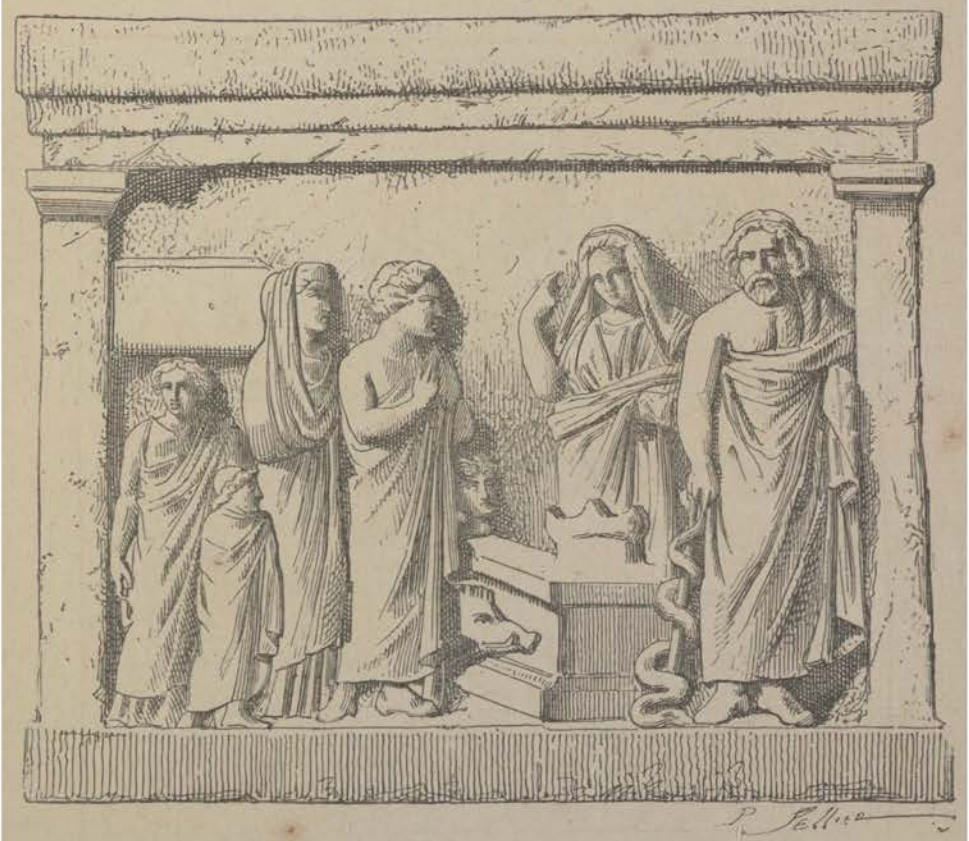
[2] Perseus was so little under restraint in the Roman camp that he was at one time able to go as far as a day's journey from the camp without exciting notice. (Livy, xlv. 28.)

[3] Cohen, *Monnaies consulaires*. PAVLLVS; Paulus Æmilius receiving Paulus and his children. A trophy. Reverse of a denarius of the Æmilian family.

the curious phenomenon of its tide; also Aulis, the rendezvous of Agamemnon's 1,000 ships; Athens, where he offered sacrifices to Athene, as he had at Delphi to Apollo; Corinth, still rich with all its treasures; Sicyon, Argos, Epidaurus, and its temple of Æsculapius; Megalopolis, the

Coin of Epidaurus.[1]

Coin of Sicyon.[2]



Altar of Æsculapius.[3]

creation of Epaminondas; Sparta and Olympia, every where evoking

[1] Laurelled head of Zeus. On the reverse, a double letter, ΕΠ, as a monogram, in a wreath. Silver coin (triobol) of Epidaurus.

[2] A chimera and a wreath. On the reverse, an I and a dove flying, in a wreath of laurel. Coin (Æginetan tetradrachm) of Sicyon.

[3] Bas-relief found at Epidaurus, representing the altar of the god, his priests, and the victim about to be immolated. (Lebas and Waddington, *Voyage archéol. en Grèce et en Asie mineure*, p. 104.)

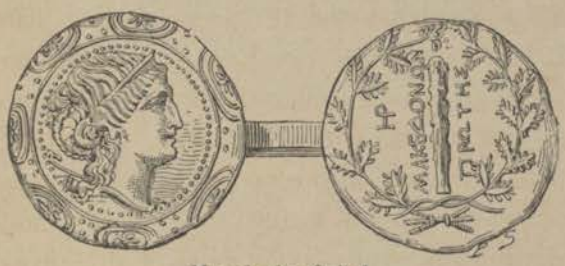
the glorious memories of the past, and rendering homage to that Greece which was now so humiliated. At Olympia he believed that he saw Jupiter himself in beholding the statue of Phidias, and sacrificed with as much pomp as he would have done in the Capitol at Rome. It was his wish to conquer the Greeks in magnificence as well as in arms. To furnish out a feast and to conduct games, he said, seldom fell to the lot of him who knew how to conquer. He directed Greek and Roman games to be celebrated at Amphipolis, giving notice of them to the States and kings of Asia,

Chalcis and Euripus.[1]

and specially inviting the chief leaders in Greece. The most skilled wrestlers and performers were gathered from all parts of the world, and many famous horses. Outside the enclosure were displayed the statues and pictures, the tapestry, the vases of gold, silver,

[1] Euripus, at its narrowest point, is about 220 feet across.

bronze and ivory, and all the curiosities and works of art found in the palace of Perseus. The Macedonian arms [excepting the shields of the phalanx], were gathered into a huge pile, and Paulus Æmilius set fire to the heap, closing the games with this ominous conflagration, a holocaust announcing to Greece and to the world the end of the Macedonian kingdom, as the burning of Persepolis, by Alexander, a century and a half earlier had announced to Asia the destruction of the empire of Cyrus.



Macedonian Coin.[1]

Meanwhile the commissioners from the senate had arrived; Paulus Æmilius, in conjunction with them, determined the fate of Macedon, and having called together at Amphipolis, where his tribunal was surrounded with an immense crowd, ten chief men from each city, he made known to them the will of the Roman people. He spoke in Latin, it being suitable that the conqueror should employ his own language in addressing the conquered, but the prætor Octavius repeated his words in Greek. The Macedonians were to be left free and should possess the same cities and lands as before, governed by their own laws, and creating annual magistrates, and the taxes they should pay to Rome were to be but half what they had been accustomed to pay to their own kings; Macedon, however, was to be divided into four districts, and there should be no intermarriage nor liberty to purchase lands or houses outside their respective districts. The districts bordering on the barbarians might keep armed forces on their frontiers. The third district should supply the Dardanians with salt at a fixed price. The friends and courtiers of Perseus, the generals of his armies, the commanders of his fleets and garrisons, all who had held any employment whatever from him, were to accompany the consul into Italy, together with their children; these persons were all designated by name. Then Paulus Æmilius gave the Macedonians a code of laws wisely adapted [?]

[1] Bust of Diana upon a Macedonian shield. On the reverse, ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ ΠΡΩΤΗΣ, and a monogram; a club in a laurel wreath. Tetradrachm of the first district of Macedon.

to their new condition, and having completed his task, he set out for Epirus. Anicius meanwhile in Illyria made similar dispositions, separating that country into three districts.

Macedon was by far too rich and important a country to be given up to pillage; only a few places which had hesitated to open their gates after Pydna were abandoned to the soldiery. The consul had sought, moreover, to separate the royal cause in Macedon from that of the country itself; it was his plan to appear to have fought only against Perseus and to be willing to take only what belonged to the king as spoils of war, in order by this policy to shake all the other thrones which still remained. Macedon and Illyria were therefore spared, but the army complained, and Epirus was given up to them.

The measures adopted by assemblies are often cruel, because of all who concur in the act no one man is personally responsible. The Epirotes had revolted to Perseus, and the senate, to strike terror among the allies of Rome, determined to treat them as deserters who were usually executed. Cohorts despatched to their seventy cities[1] received orders on the same day, at the same hour, to give them up to pillage, to destroy their walls, and to carry their inhabitants away into slavery. A hundred and fifty thousand Epirotes were thus reduced in a day from liberty to slavery. The booty was so considerable that after the gold and silver had been reserved for the public treasury, each foot-soldier received 200 and each trooper 400 denarii; and still the soldiery were not content. In their avidity, stimulated by the recollection of the enormous plunder obtained by their predecessors in Sicily, in Africa, and in Asia, they could not forgive their general for having reserved the spoils of Perseus. Paulus Æmilius had plundered for the benefit of the State; they could not consent that any one should plunder except in their interest. And so when he sailed up the Tiber in the king's galley of great size, decorated with the brazen shields of the phalanx, and solicited a triumph, his own soldiers strove to prevent his obtaining the honour.

We are at an epoch when Roman manners were beginning to

[1] Almost all in the country of the Molossians. (Polybius, xxx. 15.) Livy, in representing the Molossians as fighting against Perseus (see p. 99, note 2), must have confused them with another Epirote tribe.

undergo that transformation which later we shall study more fully—when military chiefs plundered the provinces; when the soldiers going to war, no longer through patriotic devotion, but in the hope of gain, invoked curses upon those who forced them to undergo the discipline and practice the disinterestedness of a nobler period. The occurrence is therefore to be regarded as a symptom of an evil whose origin it is important to observe, since after increasing during a century, it was to result in those civil wars out of which emerged the empire.

The senate had decreed to Paulus Æmilius the honour of a triumph, but it was necessary that the people should, by a special order, present to the consul his *imperium* for the day, so that he should be allowed to enter the city in his war dress, and lead his army by the via Sacra to the Capitol.

"He would not give us money," the soldiers said, "and we will not give him honour;" and when the tribune of the commons proposed the order, a personal enemy of Paulus Æmilius, Servius Galba, a tribune of the second legion, who had incited the soldiers to manifest their ill-feeling against the general, demanded that the subject should be put off until the morrow, so that he might have an entire day in which to unfold his reasons for opposition. Being required to speak at once, he made an address, four hours in length, occupying the time until night, when it became necessary to adjourn the assembly. On the morrow the soldiers crowded the Capitol, and the tribes first called voted in the negative. To refuse the triumph to him who had made Rome the heir of Alexander, was one of those unworthy actions to which the populace is prone when it abandons itself to its evil instincts. The principal men ran in amongst the crowd, crying out that the consul was in danger of being sacrificed to the licentiousness and avarice of his soldiery, that the soldiers were being raised into the place of masters over their generals; and a former consul and master of the horse, Marcus Servilius, implored the tribunes to begin anew, and give him first an opportunity of speaking to the assembly. Livy has composed for him an indignant harangue, suited to the occasion. At all events the thirty-five tribes returned to vote, and the triumph was decreed with unanimity. While we congratulate them on doing this tardy act of justice, we keep in

mind this two-fold symptom: the increasing cupidity of the soldier, which begins to indicate his character under the empire; and the facility with which the people support the suggestions of mean envy against one of the best public servants Rome ever had.

Details of the Borghese Vase.

The triumph, at which the people were present arrayed in white togas, was a solemnity which lasted three days. The first day was occupied by the procession of the statues and pictures,

Details of the Borghese Vase.

loaded upon 250 chariots. On the second day long trains of vehicles loaded with weapons filled the streets, glittering with steel and polished brass. Then followed 3,000 men, bearing vases, full of coined silver, silver cups of splendid work. On the third day the trumpeters led the procession. Then came 120 oxen with

gilded horns, covered with garlands and fillets, led by young men wearing embroidered scarfs. Behind these were soldiers carrying coined gold in vases. Four hundred golden wreaths, given by the

Borghese Vase.[1]

cities of Greece and Asia, a sacred goblet weighing ten talents encrusted with gems, which Paulus Æmilius had ordered to be

[1] This famous marble vase or *crater* was an ornament in the "gardens of Sallust," near the site of which it was found. It represents a bacchanalian scene, where the god of the vintage, calm in the midst of noisy rejoicings, is listening to a bacchante who plays the lyre; Silenus, overcome with intoxication, is supported by a faun; others fauns are playing the lute and cymbals, from one of whom a bacchante seems to flee. Museum of the Louvre, No. 711 of the Clarac catalogue. It is not asserted that this vase was borne in the triumph of Paulus Æmilius, but it gives an idea of the kind of vases seen on such occasions.

made, and the goblets of Antigonus and Seleucus, with the cups made by the artist Thericles, and the other gold cups used by the king of Macedon, preceded the chariot of Perseus, upon which were laid his arms and diadem.

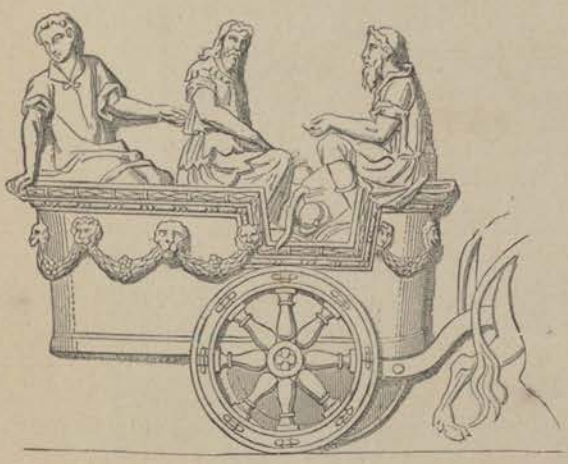
The crowd of captives followed: among them the son of Cotys, sent by his father as a hostage into Macedon, and the children of the king, two sons and a daughter who were not old enough to understand the extent of their misfortunes, and looked about them amused and smiling at the gay but cruel pageant. Next followed Perseus on foot, clad in black, walking with a be-

Car bearing Prisoners.[1]

wildered air, as if the greatness of his calamities had blunted his senses, and, that vengeance might be wreaked to its uttermost, the wife of Perseus was forced to follow her husband and children in this sad procession, which she might readily believe would end with their destruction. Perseus had besought the consul to avert from him this last ignominy of the triumph, but the Roman had coldly replied that the matter had always been, and still was, in the king's own power, being himself unable to conceive that any one should not prefer suicide to such disgrace. At last came the victor, followed by the crowded ranks of his cohorts, but of the two young sons who should have been at his side, one had just died, and the other was at the point of death.

[1] This car is not an antique, but was designed by Ginzrot (*Wagen und Fahrwerke*, pl. xx) from details furnished by the columns of Trajan and of Antoninus.

Controlling his manly grief, Paulus Æmilius consoled himself by the thought that upon him was laid the expiation of the public prosperity. A few moments later he said, in addressing the people: "I hope, that the Republic is freed from the envy of fate by my having undergone such an extraordinary calamity as to have my triumph, in mockery as it were of human fortunes, intervene between the funerals of my two sons. . . . In the house of Paulus, except the old man, none remains. However, your happiness and the prosperous state of the commonwealth console me for this ruin of my house." Paulus Æmilius lived some years longer, was censor in the year 160, and died while holding that office.



Another Car bearing Captives.[1]

As a recompense for the capture of Perseus in Samothrace, the prætor Octavius obtained the naval triumph; Anicius, the other prætor, had the same honour, leading captive Gentius, the king of Illyria, who was afterwards retained a prisoner at Iguvium, among the mountains of Umbria.[2] The fate of Perseus was worse; being thrown into a foul prison, among malefactors of the lowest kind, he would have been starved if his fellow-captives had not shared their miserable food with him. But after a week, the urgency of Paulus Æmilius brought this shameful treatment to an end; Perseus was removed to the city of Alba, in the country of the Marsi, and such silence closes around the king, who was once the hope of the world, that our authorities do not agree whether he lived in his new prison two years or five, whether he died by his own hand or under the ill-treatment of his gaolers. Philip, his eldest son, survived him but a few years; the younger, to gain a livelihood, is said to have learned the trade

[1] From Montfaucon.
[2] Livy, xlv. 43.

of a turner, and some years later, this heir of Alexander held a petty office connected with the courts.

Even more sad was the destiny of the famous people who had conquered Greece and Asia. Never again did Macedon rise to the rank of a nation, and up to our time, a period of twenty centuries, history has never again recognized her name.

[1] On the obverse, an eye. On the reverse, a hollow square. Silver coin of Lesbos, the smallest antique coin known.

Lesbian Coin.[1]

CHAPTER XXXI.

REDUCTION OF MACEDON TO A PROVINCE; SUBMISSION OF GREECE.

I.—Alarm of the Princes and States after Pydna.

AFTER the defeat of Perseus, the Roman people had taken nothing for themselves save the immense sum poured into the treasury by Paulus Æmilius, and the tributes imposed upon Macedon, which gave the senate opportunity to remit the former *tributum*, or war-tax. The abolition of this tax, the only one that the citizens had to pay, shows plainly that Rome proposed to live at the expense of her subjects.[1] This principle of government had for one of its results the *frumentationes*, or distributions of corn at a low price, as the soldiers' share in the spoils gave rise to the *donativa*—two institutions of which the empire made a bad use, which were, however, of republican origin, and cannot be properly understood if they are regarded solely as means of corruption employed towards the people and the army.

Rome had no need of increasing her dominion by the addition of new territories. Macedon seemed the last bulwark of the world's liberty. Now that this rampart had fallen, all rushed with indescribable alarm to meet the slavery which was their doom. Prusias, king of Bithynia, had remained neutral; he now hastened into Italy and presented himself before the senate wearing a freedman's cap and having his head shaved, in token that he was a freed slave of the Roman people. Upon entering the senate house he kissed the threshold of the door, crying, "Hail, tutelar deities!"[2]

[1] The other tax, or rather the duty levied on the manumission of slaves, *vicesima manumissionum*, served to constitute a reserve fund for cases of peril. The exemption from tribute lasted—125 years—up to the time of the wars of Octavius and Antony.

[2] This is the story told by Polybius and by Appian (*Mithr.*, 2); that of Livy is less discreditable to Prusias, but this year Polybius was in Rome.

Masinissa himself trembled; he sent word to the senate by his son that two things had grieved him—one, that the senate had sent by their ambassadors a request, instead of an order, for the supply of necessaries for the army; the other, that they had sent money in payment for the corn. Masinissa well remembered that he owed the Roman people his crown, and he contented himself with the management of it, acknowledging the sovereignty of the donors.[1] He also asked permission to come to Rome that he might offer a sacrifice in the Capitol. The senate, however, forbade him to leave Africa.

Antiochus IV.[2]

Other kings wished to come to Rome, but a decree forbade them to cross the sea, and when Eumenes presented himself at Brundusium, a quæstor ordered him to leave Italy at once. This incident was near costing him his crown, for as soon as his allies became aware that he was threatened with the displeasure of Rome they at once abandoned him, in the midst of a war which he was carrying on with the Galatians. Meantime his brother Attalus was received with honour. The senate offered him half of his brother's estates, but he prudently refused, not wishing to dismember his own inheritance. This means of weakening the Pergamean kingdom having failed, the senate permitted the Galatians to make war upon Eumenes, and later excited Prusias against him, and repeated towards the king of Pergamus the outrage practised upon Philip of sending commissioners to receive complaints against the king and hear his vindication.[3]

Ptolemy VI. (Philometor).[4]

The king of Syria, Antiochus IV. (Epiphanes), had conquered a part of Egypt, and besieged Alexandria. A Roman deputy, Popillius, ordered him to return into his own territory. Antiochus required some days to deliberate, but Popillius drew a circle on the sand around the spot where the king stood, and said, abruptly, "Before you go out of that circle, give me an answer to report to the senate."

[1] Livy, xlv. 13.
[2] Tetradrachm in the *Cabinet de France*.
[3] Polybius, xxxi. 6.
[4] Intaglio from the *Cabinet de France*, No. 2057 of the catalogue.

Upon this, the king, conquered by one man's firmness, agreed to withdraw his armies.

Egypt was saved, and to retain the country under the guardianship of the senate, Popilius divided the kingdom between Philometor and Physcon, and ambassadors from all these kings at once set off for Rome to protest to the senate their reverence and their humility. The contemplation of so much baseness makes us involuntarily side with Rome, in spite of her domineering and perfidious policy.

The merchants of Rhodes, molested in their commerce by the war, had undertaken to impose their mediation. They now regretted this imprudent step decreed by their popular assembly. They made haste to murder the partisans of Perseus and to send rich presents to Rome. The senate did not declare war upon them, but Lycia and Caria, which gave them annually 120 talents, were taken from them. The prohibition of their export of salt into Macedon, and of their import of timber from that country, and still further, the establishment of a free port at Delos, ruined their marine; in a few years the product of their customs duties fell off from 1,000,000 to 150,000 drachmæ. The city, lately so rich and proud, was humbled; in 164 she solicited and obtained that title of ally which so rapidly reduced those bearing it to the position of subjects. Ariarathus of Cappadocia, in ascending the throne, also asked for this dangerous alliance, and in solemn sacrifices gave thanks to the gods that he had obtained it. His servility did not prevent the senate from supporting a usurper against him, and assigning to this person half of Cappadocia (159).

Rhodian Coin.[1]

In the island of Lesbos,[2] Antissa was razed to the ground for having furnished some few supplies to the fleet of Perseus. In Asia the cities made haste to banish or inflict punishment upon the former partisans of the king. For some months the greatest

[1] Head of the Sun. On the reverse, POΔION EY, and a rose, the device of the Rhodians. Didrachme of Rhodes.

[2] The view of Lesbos (next page) is from a sketch by the Comte de Choiseul-Gouffier. (*Bibliothèque nationale.*)

View of Mitylene (capital of Lesbos).

alarm weighed upon Greece.[1] All the evil instincts fermenting in these little cities, so long without moral or legal restraints, had free scope, sheltered by the name of Rome. For revenge upon an enemy or a rival it was only needful to say that he had sold himself to the Macedonian. It was enough for a man to be suspected of silent vows in favour of Perseus to have him dragged before a pitiless tribunal. The Ætolian Lyciscos denounced 500 of his fellow-countrymen, the entire senate of Ætolia, and caused them to be led to execution, Rome lending only the sword of her soldiers for the butchery. Did these judicial massacres weary the victors? We may regard a desire to put an end to them as the motive which led to the transportation of all suspected persons into various cities of Italy. Whoever of importance yet remained in Epirus, Acarnania, Ætolia, and Bœotia followed Paulus Æmilius to Rome; 1,000 Achæans designated by Callicrates were deported thither. One single prince received with astonishment a benefit at the hands of Rome; it was Cotys, a petty Thracian prince, who had valiantly supported Perseus. The senate sent back to him his son, who had chanced to be among the prisoners. But Thrace lay on the high road from Europe into Asia, and it was well to have allies there.[3]

Coin of the Ætolian League.[2]

Macedon being effaced from the list of nations, Epirus being depopulated, and Ætolia ruined, there remained in Greece nothing but the Achæan league, also destined to perish. Philopœmen himself had not had any assured belief in its durability. When the Romans, says Polybius, demanded things conformable to laws and treaties he instantly executed their orders; when their requirements were unjust he advised remonstrances and entreaties to be made; then if they still remained inflexible the gods should be called upon to witness this infraction of treaties, and, finally, the Roman will should be obeyed. "I know," he said, "that

[1] To appreciate this terror, see the story of the accused Rhodian, Polyaratus, who vainly sought asylum in many Asiatic cities. (Polybius, xxx. 9.)

[2] Head coiffed with the *petasus*, cap peculiar to the north of Greece. The young man is sometimes called Meleager; the wild boar on the reverse would in that case be the boar of Calydon. Cf. Saglio, *Dict. des Antiq. gr. et rom.*, p. 128.

[3] Livy, xlv. 43.

a time will come when we shall all be the subjects of Rome,[1] but I seek to postpone this time. Aristænus, on the contrary, invokes its coming, for he sees its inevitable necessity, and would rather it came to-day than to-morrow." This policy of Aristænus, which Polybius dares to call prudent,[2] Callicrates followed, but solely in the interest of his own ambition and with an odious cynicism in his servility. "The fault is yours, Conscript Fathers," he dared to say in the senate, "if the Greeks are not docile to your will. In all republics there are two parties, one who maintain that laws and treaties should be observed, the other who wish to have every other consideration give way to the desire of pleasing you; the opinion of the former is agreeable to the multitude, your partisans therefore are despised; but take to heart their interests, and soon all the chiefs of the republics, and with them the people, shall be on your side." The senate replied that it was to be desired that the magistrates of all the cities should be like Callicrates, and, as if to justify his words, the Achæans elected him strategus on his return from Rome.

Coin of Epirus.[3]

This occurred some years before the war with Perseus. That prince restored hope to the partisans of Hellenic independence; the Achæans, therefore, proposed at first to maintain a strict neutrality; but when Marcius had forced the defiles of Olympus, Polybius made haste to offer to him the assistance of an Achæan army;[4] it was too late; the Romans preferred to conquer unassisted, that

[1] Livy also represents Lycortas saying to Appius, "I know that we are here as slaves who are seeking to justify themselves in presence of their masters."

[2] Book xxv. 8. However, Polybius and his father, Lycortas, were the leaders of the anti-Roman party. During the war against Perseus they narrowly escaped being accused before the commissioners, and after the battle of Pydna, Polybius was carried off into Italy. But seeing Greece so feeble and divided, covered with blood and ruins for two centuries, and deprived of real liberty, Polybius resigned himself to see her tranquil and prosperous [?] under that Roman rule which left to the cities so much interior liberty. We must, after all, respect the good sense and impartiality of the friend of Philopœmen.

[3] Laurelled head of Jupiter joined to a diademed and veiled bust of Juno; behind, two monograms. On the reverse, ΑΠΕΙΡΩΤΑΝ, and an enraged bull in a wreath of oak leaves. Silver coin of Epirus.

[4] Polybius, xxviii. 10, *seq.*

they might not be troubled with the necessity of recompensing their allies. Polybius himself was one of the thousand Achæans detained in Italy, and he would have been interned in some obscure town far from his books and from the great affairs he loved so well to study, had not the two sons of Paulus Æmilius become responsible for him to the prætor.

II.—Reduction of Macedon into a Province (146).

During the seventeen years that the Achæan exiles were detained in Italy, upon which subject the senate never would give any explanation, Callicrates remained at the head of the government of his country. He did much better for the interests of Rome than a proconsul could have done. To leave to conquered countries, or to those submitting to the Roman influence, their national chiefs, to govern through native rulers, as the English do in India, was one of the most successful maxims of Roman policy. Content with this seeming independence, with these *municipal liberties* which accord so well with political despotism, the States dropped quietly into the condition of subjects, and the senate found them broken in when Rome desired to tighten the bridle and apply the spur. Thus Greece, without any one's being aware of it, was on the way to become, like so many Italian cities, a Roman possession, when, at the death of Callicrates, Polybius, supported by Scipio Æmilianus, solicited on behalf of himself and the other exiles to be sent home to Achaia. There were now but 300 left. The senate hesitated. Cato was indignant at prolonged deliberation upon such a trifle; contempt gave him humanity. "It is only a question," he said, "whether a few decrepit Greeks shall be interred by our grave-diggers or by those of their own country." They were allowed to depart (150).[1] Cato was right; and Greece also, after one last struggle, was about to descend into the tomb, there to remain for twenty centuries.

[1] Polybius wished to ask from the senate restoration to all the offices and honours they had enjoyed before their exile. Cato, whom he sounded on this subject, replied: "It seems to me, Polybius, that you do not follow the example of Ulysses; for you, having made your escape from the cave of the Cyclops, now propose to return thither to seek the hat and belt you left behind you. (Plutarch, *Cato*, ix.)

In the case of some of these exiles, age had neither chilled their ardour nor calmed their resentment. Diæus, Critolaus, and Damocritus returned to their country embittered and turbulent, and by their imprudence precipitated her ruin.

Circumstances, it is true, appeared to them favourable. Andriscus, an adventurer, who gave himself out to be a natural son of Perseus, had just laid claim to the paternal inheritance (152). Repulsed by the Macedonians after his first attempt, he had taken refuge with Demetrius, king of Syria, who had given him up to the Romans. The latter, contrary to their habit, had guarded him

Sarcophagus representing a Combat.[1]

negligently. He escaped, recruited an army in Thrace, and now, personating Philip that son of Perseus who died in the country of the Marsians, he incited revolt in Macedon, and occupied a portion of Thessaly. Scipio Nasica expelled him from this province (149); but he returned thither, defeated and killed the prætor Juventius, and made an alliance with Carthage, at this time beginning her third war against the Romans. The affair was becoming serious. Rome was at this time fighting in Spain and in Africa; there was reason to apprehend that the movement would extend itself from point to point throughout all Greece and into Asia. A consular

[1] Sarcophagus in the Capitoline Museum.

army was entrusted to Metellus, who gained a second victory at Pydna, and carried Andriscus in chains to Rome (148).

A year had sufficed to terminate this war, which was in reality not very formidable, and which a second impostor vainly endeavoured to renew a few years later (142). The senate, believing the States, which it had conquered fifty years before and had enwrapped in a web of intrigues, to be now ripe for servitude, reduced Macedon to a province (146).

Coin of Dyrrachium.[1]

The new province extended from Thrace to the Adriatic, where the two flourishing cities, Apollonia and Dyrrachium, served it as sea-ports, and as points of connection with Italy. Its tax remained as it had been originally fixed, 100 talents, half of what Macedon had paid to her kings, and collected by her own fiscal agents; her cities preserved their municipal liberties, and, in place of the civil and foreign wars which had so long devastated her, she was now to enjoy, for four centuries, a peace and prosperity[2] disturbed only at remote intervals by the exactions of some republican proconsul.

III.—Battle of Leucopetra; Destruction of Corinth (146).

The army of Metellus (*Macedonicus*) was still encamped in the scene of their conquest, when one of the Achæan exiles, Diæus, returning to the Peloponnesus, was elected strategus. During his term of office, the eternal quarrel between Sparta and the league, which had been for some time smouldering, broke out afresh, by reason of the secret intrigues of Rome; Sparta again sought to break away from the league. Immediately the

[1] A club, above it the plan of the gardens of Alcinoüs, already represented on the reverse of a coin of Corcyra (vol. i., p. 507), and the first three letters of the city's name, ΔΥΡ. Reverse of a tetradrachm (Corinthian currency) of Dyrrachium; the obverse of the coin represents a cow suckling her calf.

[2] [This so-called prosperity was, indeed, less intolerable than the separation into isolated departments, within which all commerce and industry ceased, and where the resulting poverty was such as to cause constant and irrepressible crime. But the Roman speculators, who had, of course, laid hold of the country during its piecemeal existence, still held their sway in the new province, and so this, like all other outlying countries under Roman sway, was gradually plundered out, till the population became sparse, and most of the land not worth tilling.—*Ed.*]

Achæans took up arms, but the Roman commissioners arrived bringing a decree of the senate separating Sparta, Argos, and Orchomenus from the league; the two former as of Doric race, the latter as being of Trojan origin, all three, consequently, foreign by blood to the rest of the confederation. Upon the reading of this decree, Diæus incited the people of Corinth to an outbreak,

Ruins of the Temple at Corinth.[1]

the Spartans who happened to be in the city were massacred, and the Roman deputies escaped only by precipitate flight. This people, who for forty years had trembled before Rome, now seemed to derive a certain courage from the very excess of the humiliation laid upon them; they involved with themselves Chalcis and the Bœotians, and when Metellus came down from Macedon with his legions, the confederates advanced to meet him as far as Scarpheia in Locris (146). In the battle which ensued, the Achæan force

[1] Chenavard, *Voyage en Grèce*, pl. xxix.

was cut to pieces, but, arming even to the slaves, Diæus brought together a second army of 14,000 men, and posted at Leucopetra, at the entrance of the isthmus of Corinth, he awaited the new consul Mummius. Upon the neighbouring heights the women and children had gathered to see their husbands and fathers conquer or die. They perished; Corinth was taken, pillaged,[1] given up to the flames; Thebes and Chalcis were razed to the ground, and the territory of these three cities united to the public domain of the Roman people. The Achæan and Bœotian leagues were dissolved; all the cities which had shared in the strife were dismantled and disarmed, and were subjected to tribute and to that oligarchical government which was easier for the senate to hold in subjection than popular assemblies.[3] Delphi and Olympia, as sacred territory, kept their privileges; but the credit of those divinities who could no longer save their worshippers, was on the wane, and grass soon grew in their courts.

Coin of Metellus.[2]

Coin of Elis.[4]

Yet another people struck from the list of nations! The Greeks, in fact, had reached the end of their political existence, and had not even the right to complain of their fate. It is a hard thing to say, and especially for a Frenchman to say it now, but those who are in the wrong—not that their conquerors are always in the right—are most frequently those who are conquered. If we look back at the picture hitherto drawn of Greece, before the Romans had set foot in the country, we shall see that this people had with their own hands made their grave. He who cannot govern must be governed; he who has no foresight must be exposed to all

[1] Cf. Strabo, viii. 381; Livy, *Epit.*, 52; of Mummius we shall hear again.

[2] Diademed head of Apollo, and the legend ROMA. On the reverse, M. METELLUS Q. F., around a Macedonian buckler, in the centre of which is an elephant's head, the whole surrounded by a laurel wreath. Denarius of the Cæcilian family. (Cohen, *Monn. cons.*)

[3] Paus., vii. 16.

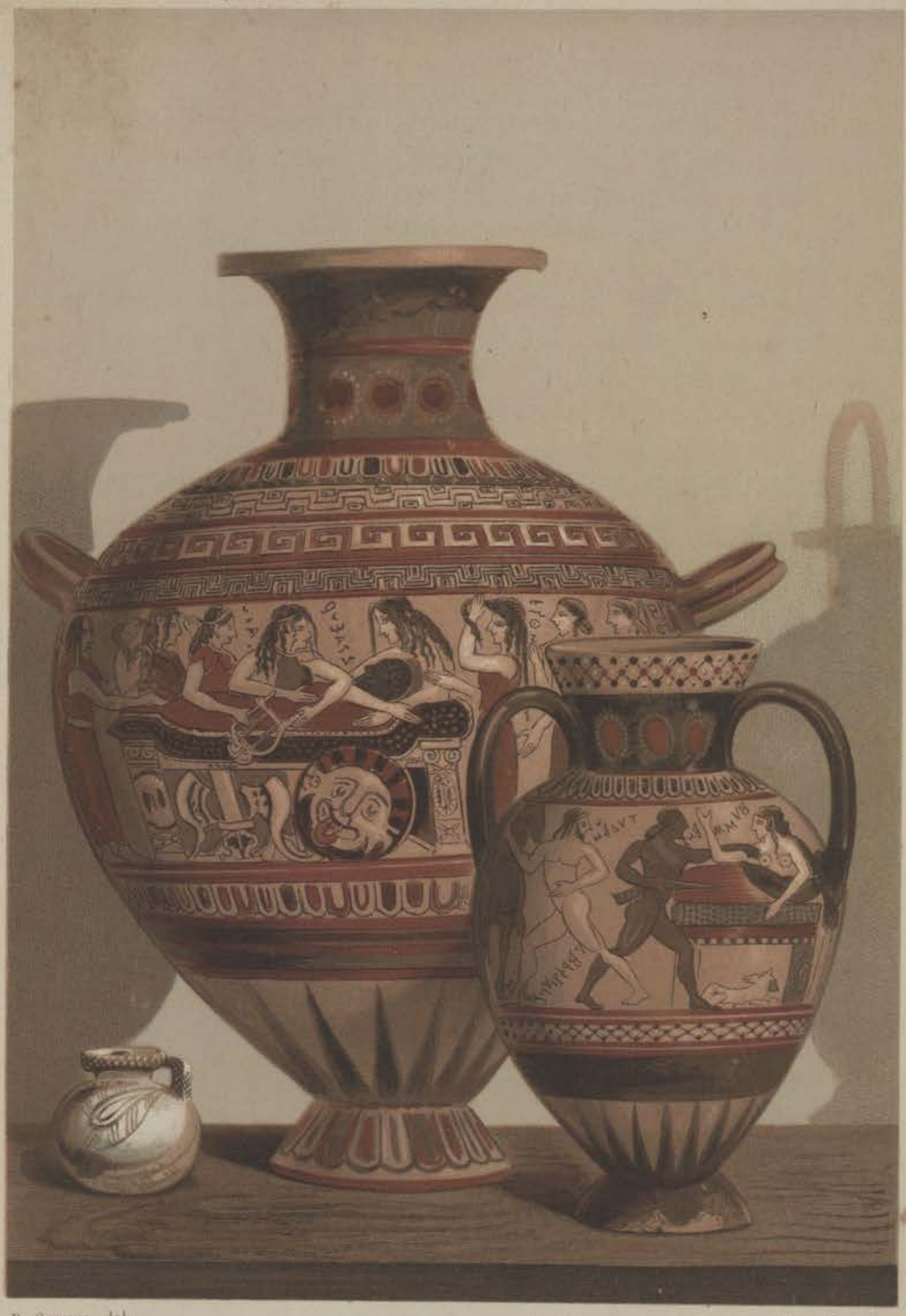
[4] Laurelled head of Jupiter. On the reverse, FA. An eagle standing; before him, a serpent; behind, a thunderbolt; below, H. Didrachme of Elis.

accidents; this is the universal law. Anarchy justly reduces to the condition of slaves those whom, in better days, patriotism and discipline have made strong and famous

In fact, this degenerate race did not merit the prudence that Rome exhibited in bringing them insensibly under her sway. As if forever mindful of the old deeds of Greece, forever dreading lest, if matters were in the least precipitated, some gallant desperation might renew the laurels of Marathon and Platæa, the senate had been a half century in assuming the tone and attitude of mastery. Upon the conclusion of the war with the Illyrians, it had scrupulously explained to the Greeks that for the purpose of delivering them from these pirates the legions had come across the Adriatic; and, in the struggle with Macedon, the independence of Greece had been put forward as a motive for the war. After the battle of Cynoscephalæ, Flamininus had quietly transformed into a protectorate this friendship of the earlier time; and it was not until every power had been broken down in Macedon, in Asia, and in Africa that Mummius converted this protectorate into a domination. Even then, Greece was not reduced to a province.[1] Its name was still imposing. Moreover, the most famous cities, notably Athens and Sparta, had not been concerned in this struggle brought on by the Achæans, and many of the latter had been but lukewarm in the strife. "If we had not been quickly ruined, "they said on all sides, "we could not have been saved."[2] And once the executions of the earlier days were completed, and the authors and accomplices of the war punished in a way to destroy all desire to renew it, the Greeks were treated as conquered enemies, whose friendship Rome was anxious to secure. They lost their independence, it is true, but they preserved the outward forms of it, their laws, their own magistrates, their elections, even their leagues, which after a few years the senate suffered them to renew. There was not a Roman garrison in any city, there was no proconsul in the land. Only, far off in Macedon, the Roman officer listened to all sounds, kept watch upon every movement, ready to descend upon Hellas with

[1] The province of Achaia was not formed till after the battle of Actium. Cf. Hertzberg, *Gesch. Griechenl.*, i. 284, n. 2.

[2] Polybius, xl. 5, 12.



P. SELLIER, del. Imp. Faillery.

CORINTHIAN VASES FOUND AT CÆRE

his cohorts, and to revive, if need were, the terror left in all men's hearts by the destruction of Corinth. In reality, Rome took from the Greeks nothing save the right to devastate their country by a perpetual succession of intestine wars.

Metellus had carried off from Pella twenty-five bronze statues which Alexander had ordered from Lysippus in memory of his "companions" who fell at the battle of the Granicus. These the consul placed in front of the two temples which he built to Jupiter and Juno, the first marble buildings ever erected in Rome. After these architectural expenditures, there was left of the spoils, which he had brought home to Rome, enough money to build a superb portico.

Mummius was a Roman of the primitive kind; he had preserved all the early rusticity of tastes and manners, and had no appreciation of Greek elegance. In accordance with the usual custom, much more than from any love for the masterpieces of art, he carried away from Corinth the statues and vases,[1] pictures and carvings which had escaped the flames, or which he had not been able to sell to the king of Pergamus,[2] and transported them to Rome, where they were placed in temples and public squares. For himself he kept nothing, and remained poor, so that the State was obliged to furnish dowries for his daughters. Never did he suspect that he had committed a crime in destroying the most beautiful city in Greece, after an engagement without danger or glory. He always believed himself to have achieved a memorable exploit, and in his consular inscription which still exists, these words are to be read, as the chief praise of his

[1] The bronze of Corinth was famous, but not a piece of it now exists. We have, however, a great number of painted vases from that city, which were celebrated throughout the Greek world. It is possible some of these were carried away by Mummius, for they were greatly in demand in Italy. We give below an explanatory note, kindly furnished by M. Heuzey, in respect to the chromo-lithograph.

"These antique Greek vases, of which the Louvre possesses a remarkable series, from the Campana collection, are called Corinthian, because they bear legends in the old local alphabet of Corinth. They have been found at Corinth, but a much larger number in the tombs at Cære, in Etruria. They bear important testimony to the relations existing at an early period between Etruria and Corinth and its colonies. The larger vase is a *hydria*, the painting representing Achilles exposed upon his bier, and lamented by the Nereids. The smaller is an amphora, representing Ismene slain by Tydeus at an assignation with the handsome Periclymenos."

[2] This prince offered 600,000 sesterces for a single picture by Aristides of Thebes. (Strabo, viii. 381; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xxxv. 8.)

consulate: *delela Corintho.* This barbarian did well to erect, after his triumph, a temple to Hercules the conqueror, god of strength.

As for the authors of the Achæan war, one, Critolaus, had disappeared at Scarpheia; the other, Diæus, had sought from his own hand the death which eluded him on the battlefield. From Leucopetra he had fled to Megalopolis, where he had slain his wife and children, set fire to his house, and poisoned himself. In stirring up a hopeless strife, these men had called down many woes upon their country, but they perished with her and for her. Self-devotion makes imprudence pardonable, and it was better to perish as Greece did, on a battlefield, than to become extinct, like Etruria, in a lethargic sleep. For nations as well as individuals, it is a duty to die nobly. The Achæans, left standing alone among the ruined Greek nations, owed this last sacrifice to the old glory of Hellas.

[1] Reverse of a bronze coin of Marcus Aurelius. The Acropolis of Corinth on the summit of a rock. The letters C L I COR give the name of the new Corinth, a colony established by Cæsar, *Colonia Laus Julia Corinthus.* But the coin itself shows by the exuberance and disorder [absurdity] of the details how much the art of the second century A.D. had degenerated.

The Acrocorinthos.[1]

LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

CHAPTER XXXII.

REDUCTION OF CARTHAGINIAN AFRICA INTO A PROVINCE.

I.—Carthage, Masinissa, and Rome.

The middle of the second century B.C. brought the fatal hour to three of the greatest nations of antiquity: in the year 148 Macedon fell; in 146 Greece gave up her sword, and with it her independence; at the close of the same year Carthage became a heap of ruins. Two other nations of less importance gave way a few years later: in 132 the liberty of Spain was destroyed at Numantia, and almost immediately after the kingdom of Pergamus collapsed. Within a period of sixteen years, Greece, Asia Minor, Carthaginian Africa, and Spain became peaceful provinces of the new empire.

Numidian King or Prince.[2]

Since the battle of Zama, the existence of Carthage had been but a protracted death-struggle.[1] Hampered by the prohibition not to make war without the consent of the senate, she could not repulse the attacks of the rapacious Masinissa. "The Carthaginians are but strangers in Africa," said the Numidian, "who have ravished from our fathers the territory which they possess. What they bought was as much land as could be surrounded with a bull's hide cut into strips. All beyond this that they possess is the fruit of injustice and violence." And on every opportunity he plundered them of a province. As early as the year 199 he began; in 193 he deprived them of the rich territory of Emporiæ, which opened to them the road into the interior of Africa. Eleven

[1] For the story of this war we have little more than the *Libyca* of Appian, some scattered fragments of Polybius and the abbreviators. But it is probable that Appian borrows his account from Polybius, who was an eye-witness.

[2] Intaglio (clouded agate) in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 2064 of the catalogue.

years later there were fresh encroachments. To these acts of violence Carthage opposed only complaints, which she sent to Rome. But the senate, sure of Masinissa's fidelity, left him in possession of the stolen territory. Encouraged by this favour, the king invaded in 174 the province of Tysca and took seventy towns. "If we cannot defend ourselves," the Carthaginian deputies said to the senate, "at least fix at once how much of our territory is to be taken from us." It was on the eve of the war against Perseus; the senate appeared to be indignant, promised justice and arbitration,[1] but suffered the affair to drag on until the victory of Pydna had rendered the iniquity safe, when they despatched Cato and some commissioners with him into Africa. Carthage refused to submit to a tribunal already decided against her, and Masinissa remained possessor of the disputed territory. But Cato had found with surprise and displeasure that Carthage was rich, populous, and flourishing. On his return home the malevolent old Roman dropped on the floor of the senate-house figs which he had brought hidden under his toga, the senators expressing surprise at the fineness of the fruit. "The land that bears them is but three days journey from Rome," said Cato. And from that time he, whenever he was called upon for his vote in the senate, though the subject in debate bore no relation to Carthage, he always said, "I vote that Carthage be destroyed, *delenda est Carthago.*"

The Scipios advocated a more noble policy. It did not displease those who, after the battle of Zama, had not cared to demand the extradition of Hannibal, to suffer the greatest commercial city of the world to subsist as an ornament to the new empire.

Carthage might be useful, and she could no longer be dangerous, since all the countries whence she had been accustomed to draw her mercenaries were closed against her. It is said, further, that the Scipios feared for their country the intoxication of universal success, that they apprehended a failure in discipline and integrity amidst too great wealth and security, that they thought

[1] The senate sometimes manifested a certain consideration towards Carthage; in 187 Minucius Myrtilus and M. Manlius, accused of having struck the Carthaginian ambassadors, were given up by the heralds into the hands of these envoys and sent to Carthage. (Livy, xxxviii. 42.)

it well that Rome should always have a peril to fear, to keep them strong and united. This is more philosophic, but much less Roman. Cato obtained his object, and in spite of the docility of Carthage and her eagerness to vie with Masinissa in liberality towards Rome, her ruin was determined.[1]

This unhappy city was still torn by three factions—the partisans of Rome, those of Masinissa, and the patriotic party. The latter in 152 drove out the partisans of the king, who, alleging an attempt upon the life of his two sons, seized upon Oroscopa, an important town. This time the Carthaginians despatched 50,000 men against Masinissa. Scipio Æmilianus was at the moment in Africa; he followed the two armies, and from the top of a hill, as a disinterested spectator, saw 100,000 barbarians destroy each other. This sanguinary contest was better than a combat of gladiators; the Roman confessed that he had tasted a pleasure worthy of the gods.[2] Masinissa, now eighty-eight years of age, riding a fleet horse bare-back, once more fought as the bravest of soldiers. The Carthaginian army was destroyed (151).

II.—Third Punic War (149—146).

The Romans promptly entered the lists, not to leave so rich a prey to the conqueror. It was, moreover, known at Rome that the Carthaginians had encouraged a revolt of the Lusitanians in Spain and the attempt of Andriscus in Macedon. In vain did Carthage proscribe the author of the war and despatch embassies to Rome. "You must give satisfaction to the Roman people," was the answer of the Conscript Fathers, and when the deputies begged to be told what satisfaction would be deemed sufficient, "You ought to know," was the only reply vouchsafed them (149).

Utica, seeing Carthage thus menaced, gave itself up to the

[1] [It was, of course, the commercial monopolists, and not old Cato and his figs, who destroyed Carthage. These horse-leeches of the world could not bear the modest rivalry of either Corinth or Carthage.—*Ed.*]

[2] Appian, *Lib.*, 69–75. In the *Epitome* of Livy it is said that the deputies of the senate found at Carthage a great quantity of materials collected for ship building, also that they escaped from the violence of the people only by speedy flight.

Romans, thus furnishing them with a port and fortress but three leagues away from Carthage itself. The two consuls, Censorinus and Manilius, at once set out with a large fleet and 80,000 legionaries. Ambassadors from Carthage were again sent to Rome. "The Carthaginians," they said, "place themselves at the discretion of the Roman people." The promise was given them that their laws, their liberty, and their territory should be left intact, but they were required to send to Lilybæum 300 hostages. These hostages having been delivered up, the consuls declared that their final intentions would only be made known after they had arrived in Africa, and they crossed the sea with their formidable army, while Carthage, relying upon the promised peace, sent not a single war vessel to meet them. Upon arriving at Utica they required the Carthaginians to surrender their arms; more than 200,000 cuirasses, 3,000 catapults, and an infinity of javelins of every kind were delivered up.[1] "Now," said the consuls, "you will leave your city and go ten miles inland and establish yourselves there." It was an act of infamous perfidy, and the consuls added insult to injury. Censorinus extolled the advantages of an agricultural life, far from that deceitful sea, the sight of which would nourish regrets and dangerous hopes.[1]

The Carthaginians were still 700,000 strong, and indignation roused them. The patriotic party seized upon the authority once more; the partisans of Rome were massacred; the gates were closed; the temples were transformed into workshops, and night and day the armourers plied their trade; women cut off their long hair to make ropes; the slaves were enfranchised and enrolled, and Hasdrubal, one of the leaders of the popular party, took the field with 20,000 men, whom he had not allowed to be disarmed. When the consuls advanced to take possession of the city they found the walls manned with defenders, and were repulsed thrice. Their machines of war and part of their fleet were burned. Behind them the country was in insurrection, and Hasdrubal had collected in his camp at Nepheris as many as 70,000 men. Notwithstanding their 80,000 legionaries, the position was not without danger to the Roman generals.

[1] Appian, *Lib.*, 74–81; Strabo, xvii. 833.

In the army served as legionary tribune a son of Paulus Æmilius, who had been adopted by the second son of Scipio Africanus, and had united the names of the two families, Scipio Æmilianus. He had already distinguished himself in Spain, where he had slain in single combat a warrior of gigantic size, and he had gained a mural crown by being the first man to scale the ramparts of a besieged city. On one occasion before Carthage an entire attacking column became involved and would have been massacred had he not brought reserves to its help. Another time, by a rapid advance upon the enemy's rear, he saved the camp of Manilius. Again the army owed to him its safety in an ill-directed expedition against Hasdrubal. Other services increased his credit with the troops and his reputation at Rome. He gained over a Carthaginian general who brought with him to the Roman camp 2,000 horse, and dispelled Masinissa's suspicions, who, at this time on his death-bed, entrusted Æmilianus with the division of the Numidian kingdom between the three sons of Masinissa, after which, returning to the camp, he brought with him Gulussa, one of the sons, with a considerable force (149).

Calpurnius Piso, who was in command during the year 148, was very negligent in respect to discipline, and met with repulses before Clypea and Hipponium; it was, in fact, another year wasted. Scipio was at Rome soliciting the ædileship; he received the consulate and the charge of the war (147). With him it at once assumed a new aspect. He restored to the soldiers their old habits of obedience and courage and industry. Carthage was situated upon an isthmus; he cut this by a canal and a wall twelve feet high. To starve out the inhabitants it was needful also to close their harbour; he threw across its entrance a dyke ninety feet wide at the base and twenty-four at the top. But the Carthaginians excavated through the solid rock a new channel to the open sea, and a fleet built with the *débris* of their houses all but surprised the Roman galleys. After a long day's struggle Scipio forced the enemy to return back into the harbour, and guarded the new entrance by machines of war that swept with missiles the whole breadth of the channel.

Leaving famine to make frightful ravages in the city, Scipio

proceeded during the winter to storm the camp at Nepheris and destroy the army, which was the sole hope of the Carthaginians. In the early spring (146) he resumed the siege with activity and carried the wall of the port Cothon. The Romans were now in Carthage, but to reach the citadel, Byrsa, in the heart of the town, long, narrow streets were to be traversed, from whose houses the inhabitants offered the most desperate resistance. For six days and nights the Roman army fought its way towards the citadel, and upon its surrender 50,000 men gave themselves up, receiving the promise of their lives. Eleven hundred deserters still held out, having taken refuge with Hasdrubal in the temple of Æsculapius. Up to this time Hasdrubal, whatever Polybius may say, had conducted the defence with skill and gallantry. A moment of weakness disgraced him; he begged for his life of Scipio, and the latter called to the deserters to witness the humiliation of their leader. His wife had not consented to follow him. She ascended the top of the temple and called aloud to Scipio, "Do not fail," she cried, "to punish this wretch who has betrayed his country, his gods, his wife and his children! O vilest of men! go, adorn the triumph of the victor, and receive in Rome the reward of your baseness!" Then slaying her two children, she threw herself down into the blazing pile which the deserters had set on fire.

Scipio, after reserving for the public treasury the gold, silver, and gifts deposited in the temples, gave over the smoking ruins to pillage. For himself he took nothing, but he gave an invitation to the Sicilians to carry home the trophies which Carthage had brought from Syracuse and Agrigentum. Then came the senate's work. Roman commissioners converted the territory of Carthage into a province. They overthrew whatever remained standing in the city, and under the most terrible imprecations devoted to eternal solitude the place where Carthage had stood. From the summit of a hill Scipio saw the work of desolation accomplished. In presence of this ruined empire, this great city, where soon not one stone would remain upon another, he was much affected, and instead of the intoxication of victory, a profound melancholy seized him. He thought on the future of Rome, and Polybius overheard him sadly repeating, "The day will come when sacred

Troy shall fall, and Priam, and the people of the warlike Priam."[1]

Would it have been better if Rome, content with the possession of Italy, had lived in peace with her great African rival, and the two nations on either side of the channel of Malta had

Territory of Carthage. (See vol. i. p. 437.)

followed each her own special destiny without collision, Carthage developing commerce, that great factor of civilization, Rome limiting her ambition to the giving of peace to Italy and to the carrying forward into the West the light she herself had borrowed

[1] Ἔσσεται ἦμαρ ὅταν ποτ' ὀλώλῃ Ἴλιος ἰρὴ
καὶ Πρίαμος καὶ λαὸς ἐϋμμελίω Πριάμοιο.

They are Hector's words in the *Iliad*, cited by Polybius (xxxix. 3).

Scipio had no reason for his anxiety. Rome was stronger and better than Carthage. Empires

from Greece? To put the question thus is to answer it. But when was ever wisdom like this shown in human affairs?

Hostile nations contend for dominion, rival cities for existence. Between the latter every war is a war of extermination, every means towards success seems to be legitimate. In this way had disappeared before the power of Rome the cities of Alba Longa, Veii, Volsinii, Capua, Syracuse; in this way Carthage fell. But the Romans put so much duplicity into the work of destruction that history can no longer speak of Punic faith; it is Roman faith she must stigmatize.

At the same time, if the opinion of the men of those times, and the historic circumstances were such that one of the two cities must perish, we ought not to regret that Rome was victorious.

What progress does humanity owe to Carthage? In our time, when commerce is held, and justly, in great honour, men have sought to revise, in the name of political economy, the decision of the ages. Their devotion to material interests, turning backward into the past, calls upon us to deplore the destruction of that power which might, they say, have united the world in the peaceful bonds of trade, as Rome bound it together by the bloody ties of victory. But there are fruitful wars as there may be a destructive peace, and nations, like individuals, live in posterity, not by what they do for themselves, but by what they bequeath to the generations that come after. Of what consequence are the commercial houses of Carthage in comparison with the Greek colonies that we know by the names of Miletus, Ephesus, Phocæa, Rhodes, Byzantium, Alexandria, Cyrene, and Marseilles? Of what consequence, in comparison with those great Sicilian and Italian cities, which knew how to find wealth as well as ever Carthage did, but were also glowing centres of art and of

created by commerce alone rest upon a frail foundation. For their destruction a violent shock is not always necessary. Some are crushed under the weight of their own wealth, others fall by an indirect blow. The Parthians in closing the overland route to Oriental commerce, and the Ptolemies, in opening to it Egypt and the Red Sea, ruined Phœnicia; the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope by Vasco di Gama struck a death-blow at Venice; the Hanseatic league fell because the importance of northern commerce was destroyed as soon as direct relations by sea were established with the East. Last of all Holland, Portugal and Spain, enriched by commerce with the East and with America, have been supplanted by England by reason of the extension of her relations in the East and West Indies. A day may come when the New World, placed midway between Europe and the East, will inherit the commercial prosperity of England.

thought? Even upon that African soil which she held so long, what did she leave behind her? Her language, which 600 years later the contemporaries of St. Augustine spoke, but not a monument, not a book.[1] Her institutions remain a problem, of which Aristotle and Polybius give different accounts; her arts have produced only shapeless figures, worthy of the South Sea islanders, a new proof of the iconoclastic temper of the Semitic

Phœnician Car.[2]

races, and to the sum of ideas already existing in the world she added nothing. If there had been left to us of Rome nothing save the inscriptions upon her tombs, we should have been able from them to reconstruct her civil and military organization, her philosophy and her religion, while the funeral columns of Carthage reveal only a sterile devotion. The heritage left to the world by Carthage is this: the memory of a brilliant commercial success,

[1] [Even this is not certain. The Berber dialects survived both the Phœnician and Roman occupation, and it was not till the third occupation by the Arabs that the original language may be said to have disappeared. Cf. Sismondi, *Létt. du Midi de l'Europe*, vol. i.—*Ed.*]

[2] Heuzey, *Les Figurines antiques de terre cuite du musée du Louvre*, pl. v. The rude forms in this figurine confirm what has been said and shown (vol. i. p. 454–7) of the barbarism of Punic art.

of a cruel religion, of some bold explorations, a few fragments of voyages,[1] a few agricultural precepts, of which the Latins had no need: and lastly, the honour of having for a century retarded the destinies of Rome, with the generous example, at their last hour, of an entire people refusing to survive their country.

Greece and Rome have bequeathed us something very different. Let no one say that the Romans destroyed everything. Mummius and Sylla were not less terrible in Greece than Scipio in Africa, and yet Greek civilization did not remain buried under the ruins of Corinth and of Athens. Genius is like the sacred fire in the temple; it survives, even under ruins.

[1] Sallust (*Jug.*, 20) speaks, however, of some Carthaginian historians, but what he has borrowed from them is strange enough. The senate, instead of destroying the books found at Carthage, had one of them translated, the work of Mago on agriculture, and gave the rest to the African princes, recognizing no doubt that no advantage could be derived from them. (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xviii. 22.) We have a Greek version of the voyage of Hanno and a Latin version of some fragments of the voyage of Himilco.

[2] Half a horse, running, and crowned by a Victory; a grain of barley and seven Punic letters, read by M. de Saulcy, Karth-Khadishah, *the new city*, the Phœnician name of Carthage. On the reverse, a palm tree and four Punic letters, Maknat, *the camp*. Silver coin, minted in Sicily for Carthage.

Carthaginian Coin from Sicily.[2]

CHAPTER XXXIII.

SUBMISSION OF SPAIN AND OF PERGAMEAN ASIA.

I.—Submission of Spain (178—133).

CARTHAGE, Macedon, and Corinth had yielded; Spain still held out. She had no great cities where she might be subdued, nor, among the inhabitants of Central and West Spain, was there great movable wealth, which, by inciting the greed of the peasantry of Latium, would render enlistments numerous; and, especially, she lay far distant from Rome. From Lilybæum to Carthage, from Brundusium to Dyrrachium, the voyage was short and safe, and by way of Thrace and the Cyclades, Asia might readily be reached. It was not so easy to get to Spain. Instead of crossing direct from Ostia to Carthagena, across the Tyrrhenian Sea, the legions marched slowly up the Etruscan coast, as far as the superb Gulf of Spezia, *Lunæ Portus*,[1] where the Romans had established a maritime arsenal, which has become the Toulon of the modern Italians.[2] Embarking here, they sailed with precaution along the Ligurian coast, sheltering their vessels behind the rocks at the least suspicion of a storm, and guarding themselves against the ambuscades of the mountaineers every time that they were obliged to land. From the Var to the Rhone they could advance more

[1] The gulf extends into the land for a distance of more than seven miles, and a little city which Ptolemy called the port of Venus (*Porto Venere*), still exists at its entrance.

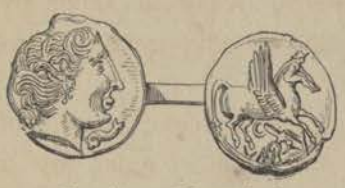
[2] Strabo, who also calls it Σελήνης λιμήν, regards it as the first port in the world. Livy (xxxiv. 8, and xxxix. 21, 32) represents it as the rendezvous of the Roman fleets; Ennius had celebrated it

Lunai portum, est operæ, cognoscite, cives!

And Persius, who lived there, admires it:

Qua latus ingens
Dant scopuli et multa litus se valle receptat.
Sat., vi. 7–8.

rapidly, past the friendly trading-ports of the Massiliotes, but from the Rhone to the Pyrenees extreme precaution was necessary in crossing that sea, which is so justly called the Lion's Gulf. The debarkation took place at Emporiæ, or more frequently at Tarragona; thence the cohorts made their way to the positions occupied by the troops whom they came to relieve, often at the very extremity of Spain. These circumstances explain why Rome had need of three quarters of a century to put an end to the insurrections of the Spaniards, while in a few campaigns she had been able elsewhere to destroy famous kingdoms.



Drachme of Emporiæ.[1]

From the time of the pacification of Spain by Sempronius Gracchus in 178, until the year 153, the tranquillity of the two provinces was disturbed only by an outbreak among the Celtiberians. In 170, one of those religious and patriotic fanatics, of whom Spain has produced so many, went through the villages of Celtiberia exhibiting a silver spear, which he asserted he had received from heaven, and from which, he said, the affrighted legions of Rome would flee in terror. One night this man attempted to enter the consul's tent, and was slain by guards, upon which the revolt ended. This disturbance shows that the Roman rule was not yet accepted in Spain. The country, in fact, contained too many mines of gold and silver not to excite the cupidity of the prætors, and these officers were too rapacious to recoil from any form of extortion. While the war with Perseus was yet undecided, the senate was forced to assume an air of equity, and to interpose its authority. But the new nobility were seldom mindful of the austere virtues of the earlier days; the prætors still sought to repair in Spain their fortunes wasted in

Coin of Tarragona.[2]

[1] This head of Pegasus—a little human head, stooped and with wings, which the Duc de Luynes had noted long ago, has been interpreted by Cavedone (*Bull. arch. de Rome*, 1841), as Chrysaor, brother of Pegasus, born of the blood of Medusa, the twin of Pegasus.

[2] AETERNITATIS AVGVSTAE, C(ivitas) V(ictrix) T(ogata) T(arraco). Temple with eight columns. Reverse of a bronze coin of Augustus, struck at Tarragona.

debauchery or in the scandalous outlays which preceded the elections.

In 153, an emissary of Carthage found the Lusitanians ripe for revolt. A prætor and 9,000 soldiers were killed, and to decide the defection of the mountaineers of the centre of the peninsula, the successful insurgents sent to them the military ensigns taken in the Roman camp. One of these Celtiberian tribes, reserved to a glorious destiny, the Arevaci of Numantia, took arms and thrice defeated the troops sent against the city. Galba, defeated by the Lusitanians, feigned a willingness to negotiate, dispersed them by the offer of fertile lands, then massacred 30,000 and gorged himself with booty.

This act of treachery appeared for the time successful, and in Celtiberia, the consul Lucullus disgraced the Roman name by a similar expedient. He had had difficulty in finding soldiers. Since rather unproductive pillage could only be attained through a murderous war, no one presented himself for enrolment. It became necessary for Scipio Æmilianus to shame the Roman youth by offering himself to take the field. Lucullus made a causeless attack upon the Vaccæi, who were on friendly terms with Rome, and besieged Cauca, one of their cities where a multitude of men had taken shelter. The inhabitants negotiated and opened their gates, upon which Lucullus destroyed 20,000 and sold the rest. In consequence of this, the inhabitants of Intercatia surrendered only upon the personal guarantee of Scipio (150).

From the massacre of the Lusitanians one man only had escaped, Viriathus, originally a shepherd, to whom all the mountain paths were familiar, the first, we may say, of those heroic leaders whom in all ages Spain has found ready to serve her. Ten thousand of his countrymen having imprudently placed themselves in a position where they could not fight and whence they could not fly, Viriathus led them out by paths apparently impracticable. His people would accept no other leader (147), and for five years he carried on with the Romans a war of ambushes and surprises, in which they lost their best troops. Viriathus well understood, however, that the Lusitanians alone could neither save Spain nor even maintain their own independence, and he incited the Celtiberians to revolt. This union with the tribes

who held the centre of the peninsula, rendered the war serious. The senate despatched against the Celtiberians one of their best generals, Metellus Macedonicus, who fought with them for two years (143–142), and took nearly all their towns. This powerful diversion served the designs of Viriathus by leaving the other Roman army, which was commanded by the consul Servilianus, exposed alone to his attacks.[1] Shut up in a defile, the army avoided complete destruction only by capitulating upon the terms that there should be peace in future between the Roman people and Viriathus, and that each party should retain that which he then possessed. The comitia ratified this treaty, which would have caused earlier Romans to die of shame (141).

A new general, Cæpio, obtained the authorization of the senate to violate this treaty. He surprised Viriathus, who was relying without suspicion upon the promised faith of the Romans, drove him back into the mountains, and caused him to be assassinated by two Lusitanians who had been won over to the Roman cause (140). For eight years Viriathus had checked the Romans in Spain. His death discouraged his army and his people.

Cæpio had not even to fight that he might cover with a little military glory the perfidy he had committed. The Lusitanians submitted; he transported them into the midst of tribes already disciplined to the yoke of Rome on the shore of the Mediterranean, where Brutus, his successor (138–137), caused them to build the city of Valencia. This latter general had still some partial resistances to overcome. Numerous bands scoured the country, and these he starved out by destroying the harvest, and penetrated into the territory of the Gallæci as far as the sea-coast, where his legions beheld the sun sinking into that mysterious western ocean, forever heaving, as they then believed, by the mighty respiration of the Earth.[2]

Brutus believed that the power of Rome had now reached

[1] This consul, passing by adoption into the Fabian *gens*, had, according to usage, taken the names of his adoptive family, Q. Fabius Maximus, and kept from his own the *gens Servilia*, the *agnomen* Servilianus. In this way the second son of Paulus Æmilius, after his adoption by the son of Scipio Africanus, took the name, P. Cornelius Scipio Æmilianus Africanus Minor.

[2] Pomp. Mela, iii. 1. The phenomenon of the Atlantic tides was astonishing to the dwellers by the Mediterranean. It is true, however, that the ancients had before this time remarked the influence of the moon upon the ebb and flow. [There is a slight tide in the Euripus, and also at Venice.—*Ed.*]

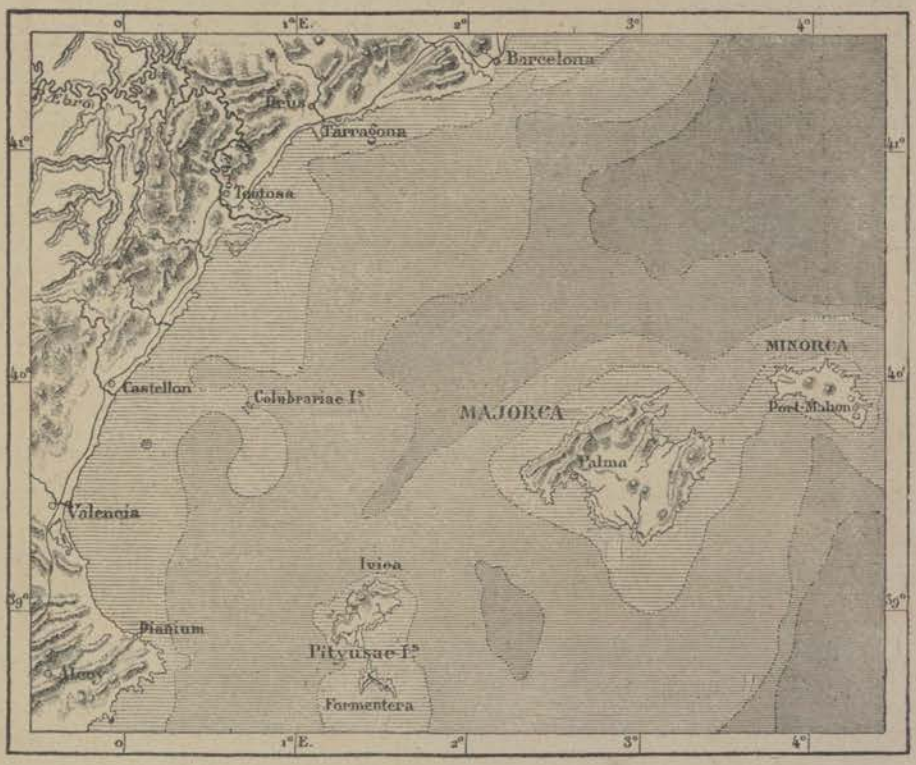
the very extremity of the world. Behind him, nevertheless, the strife stirred up by the Lusitanian hero still lasted. Metellus had left unsubdued in Celtiberia only two cities, Thermantia and Numantia.[1] The Spanish war, terminated in the south by the death of Viriathus, and in the west by the expedition of Brutus, was now centred in the north in the mountains which, detaching themselves from the Pyrenees at the head waters of the Ebro, enclose the basin of that river, and from their south-western slopes send down the waters of the Tagus and the Douro. The inaccessible character of these regions, the indomitable courage of the mountaineers defending their liberty in its last asylum, above all, the incapacity of the Roman generals gave to this last effort of Spanish independence the aspect of a dangerous war. In 141, Pompeius made with the Numantians a treaty which he dared not avow in the senate, and his successor, Popillius Lænas, approached the city only to undergo a defeat (138). The following year, the consul Mancinus repeated the disgrace of Servilianus; shut up in an impassable gorge by the Numantians, he abandoned to them his camp and baggage, and gave his word to cease hostilities. So great was now the distrust of Roman promises, that the Numantians required the oaths of the officers of Mancinus and of his quæstor, Tiberius Gracchus, son of that Gracchus whose name was so long venerated by the people of Spain (138). The senate refused to consider itself bound by this treaty, and selecting from antiquity such precedents as suited the manners of the day, renewed the comedy which had followed the incident of the Caudine Forks; Mancinus, naked and bound, was delivered over to the Numantians, who refused to receive him.[2] The people would not allow Gracchus to share the consul's fate.

New leaders and a new army failed to wipe out this disgrace. To destroy the little Spanish town, no less a general was needed than he who had overthrown Carthage. Scipio began by banishing

[1] It is believed that the ruins of Numantia still exist at Puente de Don Guarray, a league from Soria, upon an eminence more than a league in circumference, and accessible only from one side.

[2] He returned to take his seat in the senate, but was refused place by the tribune P. Rutilius, who maintained that Mancinus, delivered to the enemy as a captive, had thus lost the *jus civitatis*. His friends appealed to the *jus postliminii* or right of secret return, in his favour; but a special law was needful before he could be reinstated. [Cicero discusses this case, *de Orat.*, i. 40.—*Ed.*]

idleness and effeminacy from the camp. He drove away 2,000 idle women, fortune-tellers, and charlatans, who had transformed it into a licentious village fair. He set the troops to labour digging ditches and building walls, and then to undo the work. "Let them be covered with mud," he said, "since they



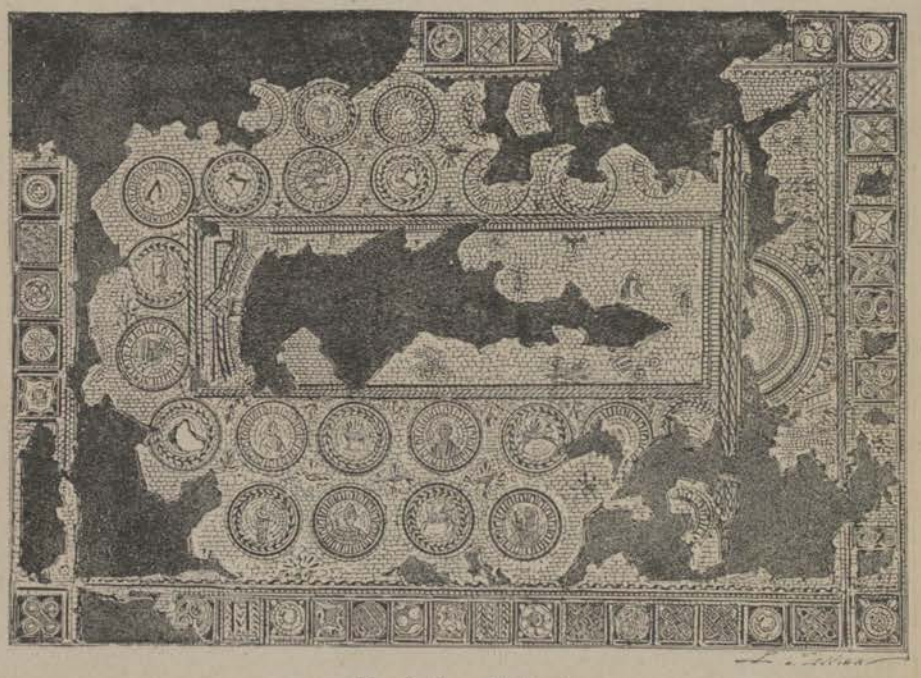
The Balearic Islands.

will not cover themselves with blood." Avoiding any general engagement, he attacked, one after another, the allies of the Numantians, by degrees drove back the latter into their city, and presently built a solid wall flanked with towers to shut them in. The Douro washed the base of the hill on which Numantia stood, and divers brought food to the besieged; Scipio threw into the river bed beams of wood with iron teeth and stretched nets across it. A Numantian leader, however, succeeded

Coin of the Baleares.[1]

[1] Cabeirus. Reverse, a bull. Silver coin of the Baleares.

in passing through the Roman lines, and went to solicit aid from the people of Lucia. Scipio hastened to this city, required that 400 of the principal citizens should be given up to him, and ordered their hands to be cut off; at Carthage



Mosaic from Italica.[1]

he had thrown to the lions all the deserters whom he had taken.[2] The Numantians hard pressed by famine, sought a battle, in which they might at least die gloriously, but Scipio would not come out from his impregnable entrenchments, and they were reduced to die by their own hands (133). But fifty Numantians were alive to follow his triumphal chariot at Rome.

Coin of Italica.[3]

Exhausted with conflicts, Spain at last became tranquil. But the mountaineers of the north, the Astures, the Cantabrii, and the Vascones were not subdued. The Celtiberians and the Vaccæi

[1] Delaborde, *Voyage en Espagne*.

[2] Val. Max., ii. 7.

[3] GEN. POP. ROM. The genius of the Roman people; before him, a globe. Reverse of a bronze coin of Augustus, struck at Italica.

again revolted in the time of the second Servile war and the invasion of the Cimbri. The pacification of Spain was not to be completed until the reign of Augustus.[1]

The Balearic Islands were a nest of pirates. Metellus took

Bay of Gibraltar.

possession of them, after almost exterminating the inhabitants (123).[2]

[1] Our principal authority upon these wars is still Appian. See also Florus and Vell. Paterculus.

[2] Livy, *Epit.*, 60. Metellus founded Palma and Pollentia in these islands, and peopled them with colonists from Spain. (Strabo, iii. 5.)

These victories and these massacres do not explain how Spain came to be so completely Roman, in language,[1] in customs and institutions. Few colonies were sent thither. Only the military establishment of Italica dates[2] from this period, a colony founded by Scipio's veterans, and later very flourishing, as we know by the fact that Trajan, Hadrian and Theodosius came from it; there was another founded in 171 at Carteia. The senate as yet had not become willing to exile its citizens or even its allies to any point outside of Italy. But that which was not done with intention came about by the force of circumstances. If we seek to count the contingents arriving from Rome in the Spanish peninsula, we find that in a period of twenty-seven years only, from 196 to 169, more than 140,000 Italians crossed the Pyrenees; nor is the list complete.[3] We cannot doubt that many of these soldiers remained in Spain and married women of the country. The colony of Carteia, at the head of the bay of Gibraltar,[4] is a proof of this, for it was formed of families of mixed race. Hence they enjoyed only the *jus Latii*,[5] the senate might refuse to offer to the poor of Rome lands in a distant country, but her generals were certainly not slow in following the example of the first Scipio, and frequently granted estates to their veterans; so that, when the conquest by violence had been completed, a moral conquest by individual colonization at once began. These imperceptible but continuous infiltrations of Italian blood quickly Latinized the

[1] [In enumerating the causes of the Latinization of Spain, we must add, as perhaps the most important, that the old Celtic languages of both Gaul and Iberia were closely allied to Latin, so much so that ancient Gaul certainly, and an ancient Iberian probably, could learn it without difficulty. On the contrary, the most educated Greeks learned Latin with great difficulty.—*Ed.*]

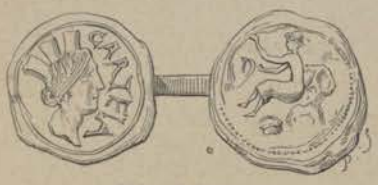
[2] Italica received the name of old Seville (Sevilla la Vieja); it is six miles distant from modern Seville, whither its inhabitants emigrated in consequence of a change in the bed of the river. The ruins have almost completely disappeared; the mosaic, represented above, was discovered in 1799; it has since been destroyed, but was copied by M. Delaborde in his *Voyage en Espagne.*

[3] These figures do not contradict the statement given on page 151. The enrolments were numerous at first, while Bætica yet had the wealth accumulated there by Carthage and the Phœnicians in centuries of commerce. Later they became few and reluctant when there were only poor and warlike tribes to fight with.

[4] In the place called El Rocadillo, where the remains of an amphitheatre are yet visible.

[5] The son of a Roman father and foreign mother, *peregrina*, followed the condition of the mother, unless she belonged to a nation which had the *jus connubii* with Rome. On this account there was a *diminutio capitis* for the Roman colonists of Carteia, and the new city was not a Roman, but a Latin colony. See vol. i., p. 393, and n. 6.

Transalpine provinces.[1] On the other hand, beyond the Adriatic, where the wars were short, and where the legions never sojourned, the Greek language was never displaced. Also we shall observe that in the west the civilizing element was the Roman spirit, while in the east it was Hellenism. Each absorbed into itself the inferior elements upon which it acted; Hellenism had long done this in Asia; Rome now begins to do it in Spain, and presently in Gaul. The West is on its way to become Latin, the East will remain Greek.[3]



Coin of Carteia.[2]

II.—Reduction of Pergamean Asia into a Province (133—129).

From Spain we turn again to Asia that we may follow the destructive work which the senate was doing all round the Mediterranean, of which it intended to make a Roman lake.

From 188 to 133, not a Roman soldier appeared in Asia, but the commissioners of the senate were always there, keeping watch upon the words and acts of the Asiatic princes; intervening with authority in all affairs, with the design of degrading the native rulers in the eyes of their subjects; exacting rich gifts[5] in order to keep them always burdened; taking their sons as hostages,[7] to send them back like Demetrius [of

Demetrius I., Soter.[4]

Ariarathus V.[6]

[1] Later, Julius Cæsar and Augustus sent many colonies thither.

[2] CARTEIA. Turreted head of the city. On the reverse, a fisherman on a height; beside him a basket. Bronze coin of Carteia.

[3] Later we shall see Rome and the western provinces also undergo the influence of Hellenism, but under the form of philosophy and religion.

[4] Gold coin of 2½ staters (21·5 gr.).

[5] Antiochus gave at one time 500 pounds of gold, at another fifty talents. Livy, xxxvi. 4; xlii. 6.) Prusias offered a golden crown of 150 talents, etc.

[6] Head of Ariarathus V., from a tetradrachm.

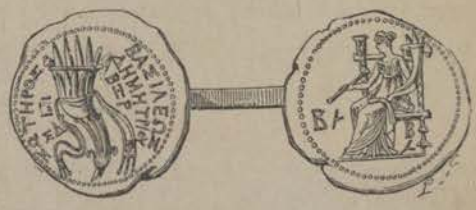
[7] And with the king's sons, the sons also of the chief men in the kingdom. Antiochus gave twenty of these hostages, with the condition of changing them every three years.

Macedon] gained over to the interests of Rome; above all forbidding them war, that the noise of arms might not awaken these people from their lethargy.

An impostor had risen up against Ariarathus V., and the Romans gave him possession of half of Cappadocia (147);[1] Prusias of Bithynia had conquered the king of Pergamus and pillaged his capital; they condemned him to pay a fine of 600 talents, 500 for Attalus II., and the remainder for Methymna and three other cities whose territory he had ravaged (155).[3] Upon the death of Antiochus Epiphanes, the legitimate heir of the throne of the Seleucidæ, Demetrius Soter, was at Rome. The senate caused a child, Antiochus Eupator, to be proclaimed, and despatched Octavius into Syria with orders to burn the Syrian fleet, to kill their elephants, and disband their army.[4] But Demetrius, aided by Polybius, who equipped a Carthaginian vessel for the purpose, made his escape; the senate hastened to form an alliance with the Jews, at this time in revolt against the Seleucidæ, under the leadership of Judas Maccabæus, and recognized their independence (158). In Egypt, being called in as arbiter between Physcon and Philometor, they dismembered the kingdom, concealing the perfidy of the act under the show of impartiality, the heritage of the Ptolemies being thus divided into three separate States, Egypt, Cyprus, and the Cyrenaica.[6]

Coin of Methymna.[2]

Antiochus V., Eupator.



Coin of Demetrius I., Soter.[5]

[1] Appian, *Syr.*, 47.

[2] Head of Pallas, very ancient, in a hollow square. On the reverse, ΜΕΘΥΜΝΑΙ . . . . in early Greek, and a wild boar. Silver coin of Methymna of very early date.

[3] Polybius, xxxiii. 11.

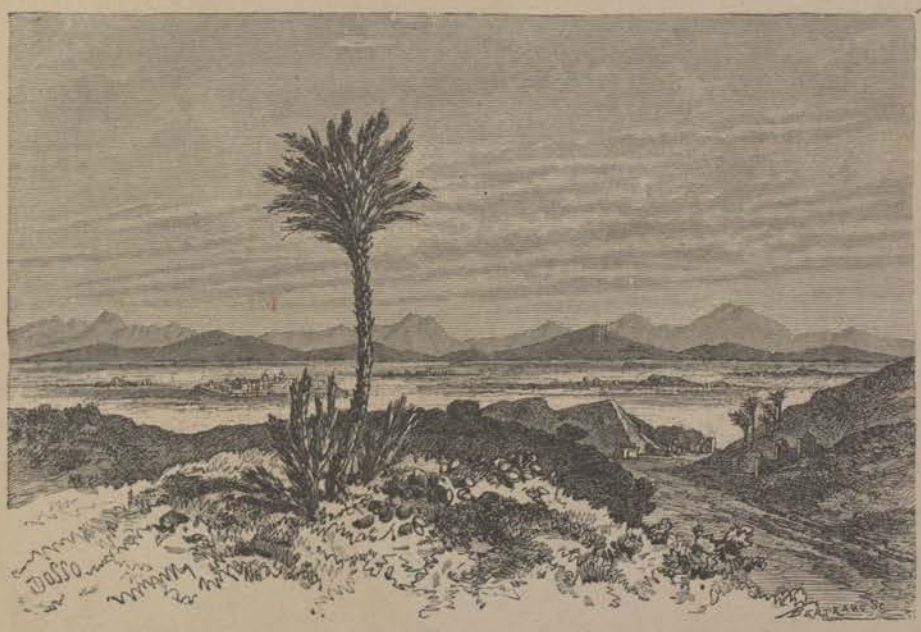
[4] Polybius, xxxi. 10.

[5] *Aureus*, from the *Cabinet de France*, a unique specimen. Both obverse and reverse bear the horn of plenty; the letters ΒΞΡ, under the name of Demetrius, mark its date, the 162nd year of the Seleucidæ, that is, 150 B.C.

[6] Polybius, xxxi. 26. [Cf. also I. Maccabees on the treaty of Rome with Judas.—*Ed.*]

Ptolemy VI. (Philometor).[1]

The kings of Pergamus had rendered too many services in the wars against Philip, Antiochus and Perseus, for the senate to be able to show themselves openly hostile. But, among States, gratitude has very little permanence, and the Romans soon perceived that it was for their interest that the Attalids should not become the chiefs of a great Asiatic monarchy. Manlius contented himself, therefore, with humbling the pride of the Galatians, without taking away their liberty, that he might leave



Cyprus.[2]

them to be forever adversaries to the Pergameans, and stumbling-blocks in the ambitious path of the latter. In the same intention the senate never interposed effectively to hinder the disputes of Eumenes and Attalus with the Bithynians. It continued to be the policy of Rome to suffer these petty kings to exhaust their strength in vain quarrels, which her commissioners were sent to

[1] From a unique coin in the *Cabinet de France* (14·1 gr.).

[2] From the village of Cata Dicono at the base of the Cerina hills. Albert Gaudry, *Géologie de l'île de Chypre*, fig. 72, pl. 28 (extract from *Mémoires de la Societé de géologie de France*, 2nd series, vol. iii.).

arrest only when they seemed likely to end too favourably for one side or the other.[1]

Of the two kings following Eumenes, who died in 159, the second, Attalus III., seems to have been a monster of cruelty. By turns sculptor, worker in metal, and physician, he murdered those who did not applaud his erratic acts, and he tried upon his relatives and friends, and upon his guards, the noxious plants which he cultivated with his own hands. Upon his death, in 133, the senate declared that in his will he had made the Roman people his legatee, and the inheritance was no less than the kingdom of Pergamus. A natural son of Eumenes, Aristonicus, raised an insurrection among the people, defeated the consul Licinius Crassus, and would have made him prisoner, but the latter, not willing to be taken alive, struck one of the barbarian soldiers in the face and was instantly slain in retaliation for the injury. The consul Perperna easily made amends for this defeat (130), and Aristonicus, being sent to Rome, was put to death;

Vase from the Cyrenaica.[2]

[1] In 1859 there were discovered a number of letters [on marble] from Eumenes and Attalus II., who died in 138, to the high priest of Pessinus, in which it is plainly manifest, notwithstanding much reticence, how miserable was the condition of these times. [Cf. Munich, *Sitz. Ver.* 1860.]

[2] Black vase from the Cyrenaica. It is fluted and bears four similar medallions in relief, representing a winged genius holding a cornucopia. The two handles are twisted like rope; around the neck of the vase are wreathed sprays of ivy; where the handles are set on are masks of Medusa in relief. *Cabinet de France*, No. 3333 of the catalogue.

peace being established, the kingdom of Pergamus was made into a province under the name of Asia (129).

The king of Cappadocia, Ariarathus V., who had aided the Romans in this war, perished in it, and the senate rewarded his fidelity by restoring to his family the territory of Lycaonia and Cilicia. The gift was not one of which Rome was likely to repent. Ariarathus had six children; his widow murdered five of them, sparing the youngest that she might reign in his name.[1] But the people revolted, and she in turn perished. A kingdom like this was not a dangerous neighbour for the new province.

Thus, in the space of a few years, Rome had subjected to her sway the greater part of the countries lying upon the Mediterranean, at an expense of much less heroism than duplicity. Since the great struggle of the second Punic war, there had been no serious danger for her, and she could have afforded to be generous. Such moderation, however, is not in human nature. A certain current of events sets in, and all give way before it, even those who recognize its peril. If, upon the conquest of Hannibal, the Romans had shut themselves up in Italy, with a resolution never to overpass its boundaries, they would have been a people of sages such as history cannot parallel.

[1] ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ ΑΣΙΑΡΧ(ης) ΑΝΕΘ(ηκεν). ΟΤΡΟΗΝΩΝ (Alexander the *Asiarch* has consecrated . . . .), perhaps the city, perhaps a temple, or the statue represented upon the coin, which M. Cohen takes to be Cadmus stepping into a ship. Reverse of a bronze coin minted at Otrus in Phrygia.

Phrygian coin.[1]

CHAPTER XXXIV.

ORGANIZATION OF ROMAN PROVINCES.

I.—Extent of the Territory of the Republic about 130 B.C.

A HUNDRED and thirty years before Christ the Roman republic had ended its great wars, and founded its empire. There remained to conquer only Jugurtha, Mithridates, and the Gauls.

Wounded Gaul Killing Himself.[1]

Rome already held the three great peninsulas of southern Europe, Spain, Italy, and Greece. Between Italy and Greece she had opened a way for herself around the Adriatic by the subjugation of the Istrians and the Iapodes in 129, of the Dalmatians in 154, of the Illyrians before the second Punic war; it was a road as yet somewhat insecure, not to become safe until under the empire, after fresh blows had been struck at these rude and barbarous populations. A prætor had even gone as far as the Danube in search of those Gallic nations that Philip and Perseus had hoped

[1] From the sarcophagus given on p. 127.

to set upon Italy.[1] Between Italy and Spain there was no route by land, but on that side Rome had long ago formed useful alliances, and a few years later she established a province there. Meanwhile, Marseilles furnished ships and a harbour, pilots from the Var to the Ebro, and put at Rome's service her influence over the neighbouring barbarians. Massiliote spies had warned Rome when Hannibal crossed the Ebro, had kept watch on his march through Gaul, had guided Scipio's horsemen in their reconnoitering. In return, the senate had sent its legions across the Alps as early as 154 to defend these useful allies against the Oxybii and Deciates, who threatened their trading houses at Nice, Antibes, and Monaco.[2] Rome was under a necessity of securing, at all costs, her communication with Spain.

The independence left to some few mountainous districts in the north of Spain, of the Cisalpine, and of Illyria, does not prevent us from regarding the three European peninsulas as subject to the authority of Rome. In Asia Minor their sway extended as far as the Taurus, but ascertaining by means of Manlius' expedition how feeble the Galatians, formerly so dreaded, now were, Rome had not yet required of them the abandonment of a liberty which, on this far-off frontier, was rather a help than a hindrance to the Republic. Gavium, the great city of Ancyra, even Pessinus, which since Cybele came thence to the banks of the Tiber, was considered by the Romans a sacred city, were still left in the hands of Gallic tetrarchs. In Africa, Rome had retained the Carthaginian territory, which the Numidians, divided since the death of Masinissa among several kings, could now no longer molest. Egypt was under her guardianship, the Jews were in alliance with her, and the petty kings still remaining in Asia Minor were altogether at her discretion. Rhodes and the Greek cities of the Asiatic sea-coast rendered her divine honours;[3] finally, before six years, Transalpine Gaul would be invaded. The rule of Rome, or her influence, extended from the ocean to the shores of the Euphrates,

[1] Expedition of Asconius against the Scordisci (135).

[2] See Desjardins, *Géogr. de la Gaule romaine*, vol. ii. p. 164.

[3] Polybius, xxxi. 14. The Rhodians in 163 placed in the temple of Athene in honour of the Roman people a colossus thirty cubits high. As early as the year 170, *Alabandenses templum urbis Romæ se fecisse commemoraverunt ludosque anniversarios ei divæ instituisse.* (Livy, xliii. 6.) Smyrna had done the same twenty-five years earlier. (Tac., *Ann.*, iv. 56.)

to face p. 158

POSSESSIONS OF THE REPUBLIC 130 B.C.

Scale of 1:55,000,000

Lithog. by W. & A. K. Johnston, Edinburgh.

Monaco.

and from the Alps to the Atlas. But a few efforts more were needed to complete the *majestic work of Roman supremacy*.

It is now the proper place to examine the organization which the senate bestowed upon the transalpine or transmarine provinces, as after the Samnite wars[1] we considered the arrangements made in respect to conquered Italy.

The territory of the Republic was divided into two parts: *Italy*, south of the Rubicon and the Macra, and the *provinces*, or tributary lands.[2] There were at this time eight:—

Sicily, divided on account of its wealth into two quæstorships, whose seats were at Lilybæum and Syracuse;[3]

Corsica and Sardinia;

Cisalpine Gaul;

Macedon, with Thessaly, Epirus, and Illyria;

Asia (the old kingdom of Pergamus);

Carthaginian Africa;

Further Spain;

Nearer Spain.

Achæa, that is to say, Greece and her islands, may be regarded as a ninth province, although it had as yet no special governor.

To these domains of the Republic another should be added; the Mediterranean belonged to Rome, and the divine pair, Neptune and Amphitrite, whom the Greeks had so greatly honoured, began now to receive homage on the banks of the Tiber. Neptune obtained at quite a late period a temple in the Campus Martius, and we know nothing of the worship paid him there, not even with certainty the day on which his festival was celebrated. But Greek artists, employed by wealthy Romans, delighted in multiplying graceful representations of Amphitrite and her nymphs, deceitful representations of peace reigning upon the waves, for Rome was not destined to give to her maritime domain

Neptune.[4]

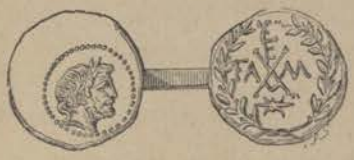
[1] Vol. i. chap. xvii. [2] *Stipendiaria facta est.* (Vell. Paterc., ii. 28.)

[3] Cic., *in Verr.*, ii. 4.

[4] ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ (*of the king Demetrius*) and two monograms. Neptune standing, holding a trident. Reverse of a tetradrachm of Demetrius Poliorcetes.

Coin of Cisalpina.

Laurelled head of Apollo. On the reverse, a horse's head. Barbaric imitation of Carthaginian and Campanian coins; ΚΑΣΙΟΣ (*Kasios*), chief's name. Gallic coin of the Cisalpina.



Coin of the Achæan League.

Laurelled head of Jupiter. On the reverse, AX in monogram, FAM, and a winged thunderbolt in a laurel wreath. Triobol of Achæa (Achæan league).

Coin of the Second Macedon.

Head of Diana on a Macedonian buckler. On the reverse, ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΩΝ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΑΣ (*of the second region of the Macedonians*), two monograms and Hercules' club in an oak garland. Tetradrachm.

Coin of Thessaly.

Head of Minerva; behind, a monogram. On the reverse, ΘΕΣΣΑΛΩΝ, and a monogram. Horse *passant*. Didrachme of Thessaly.

Coin of Illyria.

Jupiter laurel-crowned. On the reverse, ΑΠΕΙΡΩΤΑΝ, and an eagle standing in a laurel wreath. Didrachme of Epirus.

Coin of Epirus.

ΘΕΟΔΟΤ (magistrate's name), and two monograms. Cow suckling her calf; below, the horns of a bull. On the reverse, ΑΠΟΛ (λωνιατῶν) ΑΡΧΗ .... (magistrate's name), and plan of the gardens of Alcinoüs. Drachme of Apollonia in Illyricum.

Coin of Pergamus.

Head of Hercules. On the reverse, ΠΕΡΓΑ, Minerva standing, and a thunderbolt. Drachme of Pergamus. 14·1 gr.)

that peace which she secured to her continental provinces. She destroyed all foreign navies without taking their place with vessels of her own, and she did nothing for the protection of the seas, where piracy henceforth raged with impunity.

II.—The Province.[1]

In ancient times the merciless law of war gave over to the conqueror the possessions, the lands, the life. the gods even of the conquered nation.[2]

The senate had at first exercised this terrible right in all its rigour towards certain Italian peoples. Epirus, Numantia, Corinth, and Carthage had suffered the same fate—destruction. But in general Rome left to her subjects their religion,[3] their laws,[4] their magistrates,[5] their senate, and their public assemblies, the larger part or the whole of their lands and revenues[6]—in a word, a very considerable municipal independence, even a lot less hard than in

[1] To render this exposition less incomplete, and to avoid returning to the subject before the empire, facts and testimony will sometimes be cited of later date than the year 130.

[2] *Divina humanaque omnia*, says Plautus (*Amphitryon*, I. i. 102) and Livy (i. 38); Cf. vii. 31; ix. 9; xxxvi. 28; Polybius, xx. 9, 10, xxxvi. 2. The soil was understood to remain to its former owners in the provinces, the superior right of the Roman people being reserved, a right represented by the *tributum* or *vectigal*. (Cf. Gaius, ii. 7, and Cic., *Verr.*, iii. 6.)

[3] Tac., *Ann.*, iii. 60-63; iv. 14, 43; Tertullian, *ad Nation.*, ii. 8; *Apolog.*, 24, *Unicuique provinciæ et civitati suus deus est;* Bœckh., *Corp. Inscript.*, No. 4474. The jurisconsults recognized even the inviolability of religious property in the provinces. (Gaius, ii. 7, *pro sacro habetur.*)

[4] This subject will be treated later in the chapter on *municipal rule* under the empire.

[5] Inscriptions and coins in great number mention in the Greek and Latin provinces magistrates elected by their fellow citizens and having entire jurisdiction, even the *jus necis*, except in a few cases, reserved for the governor's decision, to whom also there was a right of appeal from the local authorities.

[6] The revenues of the cities consisted, first, in town dues (Suet., *Vitell.*, 14); secondly, in tolls (Strab., xii. p. 575, *Portorium Dyrrhachinorum;* Cic., *pro Flacco*, 3); likewise at Tarsus (Dion Chrys., *Or.*, xxxiv.), at Ambracia, but here with this exception, *dum immunes Romani ac socii Latini nominis essent* (Livy, xxxvii. 44); at Thermæ the exemption was stipulated only for the farmers of the revenue (*Plebisc. de Therm.*, lig. 74-75); at a later date Marseilles levied a toll upon the canal of Marius (Strabo, iv. p. 183); thirdly, in largesses, which the customs of the time rendered obligatory upon citizens aspiring to municipal offices (Pliny, *Ep.*, x. 94); fourthly, in interest upon capital lent out (*Dig.*, L. tit. iv. fr. 18, § 2); fifthly, in revenues drawn from public property, edifices, common lands, often situated very far away—Capua had such lands in Crete (Vell. Paterc., 11, 82), Emporiæ in the western Pyrenees, Byzantium in Bithynia. This city shared, Strabo says, with the Romans revenues drawn from tunny-fishing in the Euxine Sea. Arpinum and Atella had lands in Gaul. (Cic., *Fam.*, xiii. 7, 11.) Two little

the days of their independence, for the senate had often diminished the tribute they paid to the kings, their former masters,[1] and did not as a rule require from them military service, which was reserved exclusively for Romans and Italians.

These nations might therefore regard themselves as still free, and, moreover, as relieved from two evils which had rendered their existence intolerable; without, aimless and endless wars, where on both sides, and for the most trivial of motives, there was incessant destruction of harvests, and villages, and human lives; within, an envious populace, re-commencing the strife of the poor against the rich whenever the wars without were for the moment interrupted. Those who held property were constantly exposed to confiscation, to exile, or death. The Roman senate restored tranquillity, causing peace between nations and order in towns; private wars were interdicted, and everywhere authority was reconstituted with a strong hand.

The word *provincia* has a twofold meaning,[2] expressing both the legal authority of the magistrate who held the military or the judicial *imperium*, and also the place in which that authority was exercised. The prætor who determined cases at Rome had only the judicial imperium; the proconsul who governed a country had both the judicial and the military; and, finally, the country came to take the name of the function, *provincia*. When a people had made submission to Rome, a constitution was given to them, or as it was called, a *formula*, fixing the quota of the tribute and

cities in Liguria had land in Beneventum. (*Bulletin de l'Inst. arch.* for the year 1835.) The aqueducts and sewers (Cic., *adv. Rullum.*, iii. 2), the common pasture lands (Hygin, *de Lim.*, p. 192), gave revenues often collected by publicans, to whom they were farmed out. (*Dig.*, xxxix. tit. iv. fr. 53, § 1.) To these sources must be added donations made by private individuals for the founding of public buildings, festivals, distributions, or perpetual public games. (Plin., *Ep.*, x. 79; Tac., *Ann.*, iv. 43; Orelli, *passim.*) And although a tributary city could not at that time be constituted heir or receive a legacy, it no doubt happened often that the law was forgotten or evaded, as in Pliny (*Ep.*, v. 7).

[1] Antony said to the Greeks of Pergamean Asia: Οὓς ἐτελεῖτε φόρους Ἀττάλῳ, μεθήκαμεν ὑμῖν. (App., *Bell. civ.*, v. 4.) Paulus Æmilius relieved the Macedonians of half of the tribute, *quod pependissent regibus*, and reduced by one-half the price of leases for the contractors who worked the iron and copper mines. In Illyria also there was a similar reduction. (Livy, xlv. 26, 29.) Cicero said (*pro lege Manilia*, 6): *Provinciarum vectigalia tanta sunt ut iis ad ipsas provincias tutandas vix contenti esse possimus.* In Sicily there was no new tax levied: *Eorum agris vectigal nullum novum imponerent.* (Cic., *II in Verr.*, iii. 6.)

[2] [The origin of this word has given rise to long and unsettled controversies.—*Ed.*

P. SELLIER, del. Imp. Fraillery.

THE TRIUMPH OF AMPHITRITE

From a Pompeian Picture after Nicolini

the obligations of the provincials towards the Republic. This formula, which varied in the different provinces, was drawn up by the victorious general or by the commissioners of the senate, generally ten in number. As a rule, in order the better to restore order in the conquered country, the victorious general gave it new civil laws. This was done by Paulus Æmilius in Macedon,[1] by Gracchus in Spain, Rupilius in Sicily, Lucullus in Asia, Pompeius in Bithynia. In Achæa it was Polybius who, at the request of the cities, received from the senate a commission to regulate the form of their government.[2] These new municipal constitutions preserved the old forms dear to the natives, only these forms were made to resemble the aristocratic institutions of Rome,[3] as the civil laws of the vanquished were by degrees assimilated to those of the victors.[4] Thus the sixty-five cities of Sicily[5] had each a senate, two censors, who took the census every five years, orders of citizens, and offices filled on certain conditions of age and fortune. It was allowed to the subject nations, especially in Greece and the East, to celebrate in common their religious festivals and to re-establish their inoffensive leagues.

Provinces where the turbulence of the people or the neighbourhood of the enemy rendered soldiers necessary were governed by consulars; others, more pacific, by prætors.[6] These offices might

[1] Livy, xlv. 30, 22. *Leges quibus adhuc utitur.* (Justin, xxxiii. 2.)

[2] Pausanias, VIII. xxx. 5. Mummius had already introduced some changes. (*Id.*, vii. 16; Cf. Polybius, xl. 10.)

[3] Pausanias says this expressly (VIII. xvi. 9): Ἐνταῦθα δημοκρατίας μὲν κατέπαυσε [Μόμμιος], καθίστατο δὲ ἀπὸ τιμημάτων τὰς ἀρχάς. Quintius did the same in Thessaly (Livy, xxxiv. 51), and Gabinius in Judæa: . . . . Ἀριστοκρατίᾳ διῳκοῦντο. (Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, i. 8, 5.) The law made by Pompeius for Bithynia and Pontus, fixing the age of members of the provincial senate at not less than thirty, and requiring some previous service in public affairs, and making the duration of the office for life, also without doubt fixed a property qualification for the senators. (Cf. Pliny, *Ep.*, x. 83; Athenæus, v. 51, Πύκν' ἀφῳρημένην τοῦ δήμου.) Cicero wrote to his brother (*ad Quint.*, I. i. 2, 8): *Provideri abs te civitates optimatium consiliis administrentur.* In Sicily the inhabitants were divided into classes, *ex genere, censu, ætate.* (Cic., *in Verr.*, ii. 2, 49.)

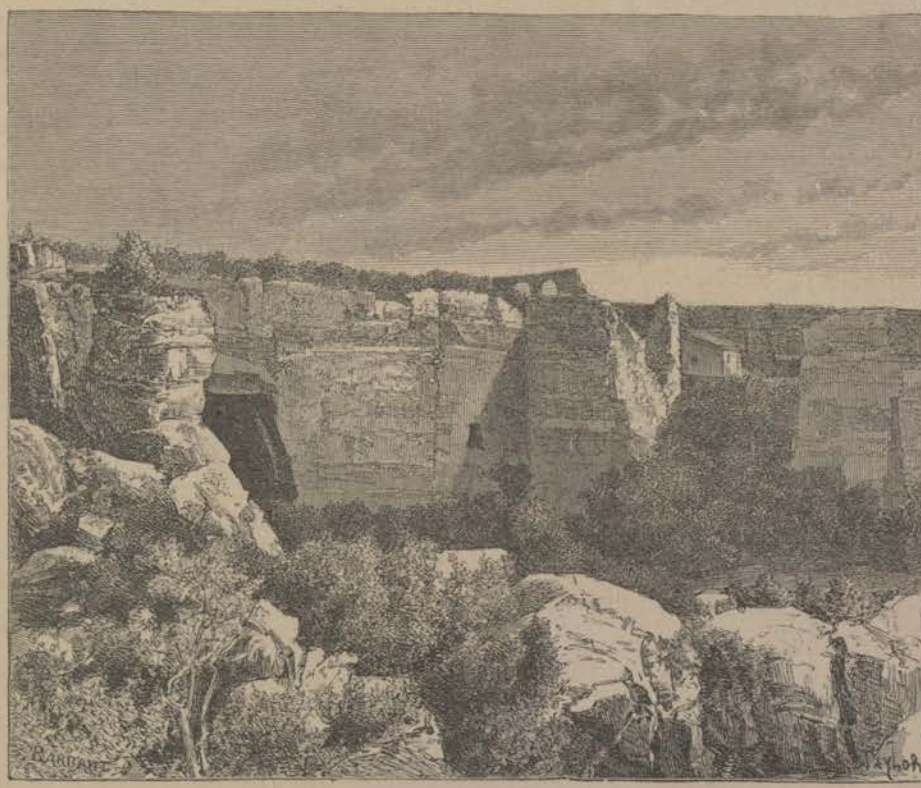
[4] The edicts of the provincial prætors and quæstors (Gaius, i. 6), often, too, decrees of the senate (Ulpian, *Fr.*, xi. 18; Cic., *ad Att.*, v. 21), caused this fusion.

[5] Cic., *II in Verr.*, ii. 15. We should no doubt add to this number the two confederate cities, Messina and Tauromenium. Pliny (*Hist. Nat.*, iii. 8) says sixty-eight, Ptolemy (iii. 4), fifty-eight, Diodorus (xxiii. 5) sixty-seven, Livy (xxvi. 40) sixty-six.

[6] The division into consular and prætorian provinces varied frequently. Macedon, a consular province under Piso, was prætorian in the time of his successor. (Cic., *in Pis.*, 36, and *de Prov. cons.*, 7.) Even the limits of provinces were sometimes changed. (Cic., *in Pis.*, 16, 21, 24; Livy, xxiv. 44.)

be held for years. Sometimes even citizens without office obtained a province from the senate or the people.[1]

Aristocracies, which administer the government gratuitously, and democracies, which must administer it economically [?], do not multiply offices in the State; monarchy, on the other hand, swarms with them; compare, for example, aristocratic England, who not long since had but 24,000 salaries on the estimates, and



Quarries of Syracuse used as Prisons.

the empire of Constantine, where the army of office-holders was as great as the army of legionaries. Republican Rome was never willing to undertake in detail the administration of the provinces. She farmed out the taxes, to escape collecting them herself, the public works, to escape carrying them on, and she left the cities to manage their own affairs, with the intention of concerning herself therein only if the public peace should be in any way

[1] Thus Scipio had obtained Spain: . . . . *qui sine magistratu res gessiset.* (Livy, xxviii. 38); Cf. Sallust, *Cat.*, 19; Suet., *Cæs.*, 9; Polybius, vi. 13.

disturbed. She governed, she did not adminster, *regere imperio populos*. Hence a single man sufficed for a province vast as a kingdom.

III.—The Governor.

Outside the very gates of Rome, as soon as he had crossed the sacred space of the *pomerium*, the governor of a province took his insignia and his lictors with their axes bound in the rods, six for a prætor, twelve for a proconsul, and he was at once able to exercise "voluntary" jurisdiction,[1] but not the proconsular authority, which he could exercise only within the limits of his province. His service was gratuitous. He received, however, from the senate a sum, at times considerable,[2] for the expenses of his residence and journeys, and from the people of his province the corn required for his household, a heavy tax, for a numerous company attended him; the prætorian cohort, that is, the soldiers composing his guard; the young nobles desiring to be initiated into public affairs under his guidance; his friends, *comites*, who

Roman Herald.[3]

[1] But not contentious jurisdiction: *jurisdictionem habet non contentiosam, sed voluntariam.* (*Dig.*, I. tit. xvi. fr. 1 and 2.)

[2] This money was called *vasarium*. Piso received in this way 18,000,000 *sesterces*. The route into the province was determined in advance, and the journey was made in ships, on horseback, and in vehicles, the means of transportation being furnished partly by the State and partly by the countries through which the governor travelled. (App., *Bell. civ.*, v. 45; Livy, xlii. 1; Cic., *II in Verr.*, v. 18, *ad Att.*, v. 13, vi. 8; *in Pis.*, 35.) In travelling within his province the governor lived in a tent, as Cicero did in Cilicia when he wished not to be burdensome to the inhabitants, or he lodged at the houses of individuals. There seems to have been something like our modern system of billeting. (Cf. Cic., *II in Verr.*, i. 25: *Ostendit munus illud suum non esse: se quum suæ partes essent hospitum recipiendorum . . . . recipere solere.*) But the governor must always enter his province by the same city. Ulpian says in the *Digest* (I. xvi. 4, fr. 5): *Oportet ut per eam partem provinciam ingrediatur per quam ingredi moris est et quas Græci ἐπιδημίας appelant*, or *κατάπλουν*.

[3] From an engraved stone. A *fetial* standing before a *columna bellica*, on which is a statue of Minerva throwing a javelin. (Rich, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, p. 268, at the word *Fetialis*.)

came to share his honours or make capital out of his influence;[1] his familiars, his freedmen, persons whom he might employ confidentially for secret and delicate missions; scribes, to make copies

Lictors.

of public acts; interpreters, physicians, soothsayers, heralds, and the like.[2]

The governor, whatever was his title, was invested with

[1] Vitellius, governor of Syria, having deposed Pontius Pilate, pro-curator of Judæa, gave the province in charge to Marcellus, one of his friends, τῶν αὐτοῦ φίλων. (Josephus, *Ant. Jud.* xviii. 4.) These were the *contubernales*.

[2] Cic., *II in Verr.*, ii. 10, 30; Pliny, *Epist.*, iv. 12. The governor was not at liberty to buy anything in his province (Cic., *II in Verr.*, iv. 5), nor receive any gift. (Cic., *de Leg.*, iii. 4

political, military, and judicial authority; he had absolute control over the person and property of the provincial. At Rome each magistrate had also, in his sphere of action, a power almost unlimited, but the injured citizen might appeal to another magistrate of equal or superior rank, who by his veto might neutralize the action of his colleague or inferior. In the provinces there was nothing corresponding to this; the pro-consul having neither colleague nor superior, his authority was without limits, and his decisions were immediately executed, with this sole exception, that Roman citizens established in the provinces had a right of appeal to the tribunes at Rome.[1]

These pro-consuls were sometimes rapacious, unjust, and cruel; of this we shall soon have proof. Two circumstances, however, checked the tyranny of these powerful personages; their assizes being public, the pleaders found in this publicity a certain safeguard, and the provincials, having the right of complaint to the senate, the governor was restrained by fear of accusations which might be brought against him. Thus, during the war with Perseus, the Spaniards came to ask justice from the senate against many Roman generals. "Do not suffer," they said, "that your allies should be treated more cruelly than your enemies." The prætor Canuleius, to whom the government of Spain had fallen, received orders to designate five senators, who should institute an inquiry into the conduct of magistrates accused of malversation, and to authorize the Spaniards to choose patrons who should defend their cause. Four were selected by the province—Portius Cato, Corn. Scipio, the son of Cnœus, Paulus Æmilius, and Sulpicius Gallus. The first magistrates cited were acquitted, but two prætors, to escape condemnation, exiled themselves to Tibur and to Præneste.[3]

Pediment of the Temple at Præneste.[2]

Later we shall see that in 149 a tribunal was organized expressly to receive these complaints. No doubt the exercise of this

and *lex Servilia*.) He was allowed to coin money for the needs of his army; we have gold *staters* of Flamininus. (Lenormant, *la Monnaie dans l'antiquité*.)

[1] In virtue of the Portian and Sempronian laws.

[2] M. PLAETORIVS CEST. S.C. Pediment of the temple at Præneste, upon the reverse of a coin of the Plætorian family.

[3] Livy, xliii. 2.

right was dangerous on account of the enmities it created, but it was useful, for condemnations might be obtained—witness that of Verres, and there was always to be found at Rome, without counting the patrons of the provinces, who were under obligation to defend it, some ambitious man in search of a great cause to plead in order to bring himself before the public and prepare his candidature at the ensuing elections. Thus Cæsar began his career, and a hundred others had done the same.

In short, the government, which was republican at Rome, was monarchical in the provinces, and we need not be astonished when we shall see what had been the law for 70,000,000 people becoming the law for that infinitesimal minority which was called the Roman people.

The governor was general, and supreme judge; he was also law-maker, for by his edict he declared what principles he should follow in the administration of justice.[1] In the tributary cities, which bore the heaviest weight of subjugation, he confirmed the action of the local magistrates,[2] watched over the maintenance of order and the proper management of municipal affairs.[3] He prevented, either by arbitration or authority, the carrying on of private war, dispersed seditious gatherings, and made levies in case of need in the province and all requisitions that war might make needful.

[1] Cic., *ad Att.*, vi. 6. Each new governor might, if he preferred, issue a new edict (*perpetuum*) or he might retain, in part or wholly, that of his predecessor, *edictum tralatitium*. A collection of these manifestos formed what the Romans called *viva vox juris civilis*. See curious details given by Cicero in respect to the edict which he put forth in his government of Cilicia. (*ad Attic.*, vi 5.)

[2] Pliny, *Epist.*, x. 28, 35, 47, 50, 52, 53, 63, 85. Trajan repeats to Pliny many times that a governor being the guardian of the cities, the person in charge of their property, it is his duty to examine strictly into financial details. Cicero said, in his edict for Cilicia: *Diligentissime scriptum caput est quod pertinet ad minuendos sumptus civitatum.* (*ad Fam.*, iii. 8.) The Julian and Titian law of the year 31(?) gave to the governor even more extensive rights in reference to the guardianship assigned by the magistrate than were exercised at Rome by the prætor in virtue of the Atilian law. (Cf. Giraud, *Hist. du droit romain*, p. 253.) Augustus forbade the provincial cities to testify their gratitude to their governor until two months had elapsed from the date of his departure. (Dion., lvi. 23.)

[3] Cicero made all the magistrates in Cilician cities who avowed that for ten years they had shamelessly plundered the inhabitants disgorge their ill-gotten wealth. (*ad Att.*, vi. 1.) Tacitus speaks of the extortions practised by the great in the provinces: *Ut solent prævalidi provincialium et opibus nimiis ad injurias minorum elati.* (*Ann.*, xv. 20.) The accounts of Apameia had never been examined by the governor of Bithynia before the time of Pliny. But Trajan, who desires to know about everything, directs Pliny to look closely into them, promising the inhabitants that this examination shall not be regarded as establishing a precedent. (Plin., *Ep.*, x. 56.)

Representing the public interest, he stimulated the construction of works of public utility and provided that they should be paid for from the city treasury.[1] Sometimes he even laid on new taxes or discontinued former ones,[2] but in all cases he was obliged to leave a copy of his financial report in two cities of the province.

As supreme judge, from whose jurisdiction there was no appeal except in the case of Roman citizens to the tribunes of the people at Rome, he decided civil and criminal cases in accordance with the rules he had himself laid down in his edict.[3] To spare those within his jurisdiction costly journeys, he travelled through the country, holding his assizes at points designated in advance, *conventus juridici*.[4] In Sicily [and these usages were repeated in the other provinces] the suits between citizens of the same town were settled by the local magistrates; between citizens of different cities by judges whom the prætor designated or else ordered to be selected by lot; between a private individual and a city by the senate of another city; between a Roman and a Sicilian by judges of the same nation as the defendant. In Sicily disputes between farmers of the revenue and proprietors were settled in conformity with the laws of king Hiero.[5] But from all such decisions appeal could be made to the prætor. The subjects do not seem to have the right to take life except in case of slaves. The senate in Catana prosecuted a slave for a capital crime, but in Judæa, the Jews, after condemning Jesus to death, were unable to execute the sentence, without the authority of Pilate.[6] The law formally prohibited the prætor from delegating to any other authority the right of taking life which had been entrusted to

[1] Pontius Pilate directed the construction of aqueducts at Jerusalem, and took money from the treasury of the temple to pay for them. (Jos., *Ant. Jud.*, xviii. 4.)

[2] Vitellius, on his entry into Jerusalem as governor of Syria, abolished a tax levied upon all fruits sold in the city. (Jos., *Ant. Jud.*, xviii. 4.) Piso imposed a tax upon everything sold in Macedon. (Cic., *in Pis.*, 36.)

[3] Sometimes they followed the Roman law, and sometimes the laws of the province. Thus Q. Cicero caused two Mysians, guilty of parricide, to be sewn up in a sack, after the Roman custom, and he threatened other guilty persons with being burned alive, a punishment not in use at Rome. (Cic., *ad Quint.*, i. 2.)

[4] Cicero, governor of Cilicia, sent one of his lieutenants to Cyprus to render justice to the Roman citizens who traded there and had a right to find judges there. (*ad Att.*, v. 21.) Pliny gives a list, numerous although incomplete, of these *conventus juridici*, which the Greeks call διοικήσεις. (Cic., *ad Fam.*, xii. 57, 1; Strabo, xii. 629, etc.)

[5] Cic., *in Verr.*, ii. 13.

[6] Εἶπον αὐτῷ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι Ἡμῖν οὐκ ἔξεστιν ἀποκτεῖναι οὐδένα. (S. John, xviii. 31.)

him,[1] and he should pronounce the sentence only after consultation with his council, a sort of jury selected by the prætor from his cohort and from citizens residing in the province.

In the Græco-Roman world the religions were almost always subordinated to the secular power.[2] The latter, it is true, was extremely tolerant on the subject of religious beliefs, scarcely concerning itself with them at all, but it chose to hold the priests in strict dependence, especially the higher orders of them who were required to answer for their subordinates. In Judæa, and this right was exercised throughout all the provinces as well, the governors inheriting the royal prerogatives, disposed of the high priesthood at their pleasure.[3]

IV.—The Legates and the Quæstors.

In the performance of his official duties the governor of a province was assisted by a few subordinates. Of these, the first in dignity were the legates, whose number varied according to the importance of the province; they were selected by the pro-consul, but it was necessary that the choice should be ratified by the

[1] *Nec enim potest quis gladii potestatem sibi datam ad alium transferre.* (Ulpian, *Dig.*, i tit. xvi. § 6 pr.)

[2] See in the *Acts of the Apostles*, xviii. 14, 15, the judgment of Gallio in the case of St. Paul and the Jews. Even monotheism with its open condemnation of the worship of idols was permitted. (Tertull., *Apolog.*, 21.) Druidism was proscribed, because it strove to awaken Gallic patriotism, and Tiberius threw the statue of Isis into the Tiber (Jos., *Ant. Jud.*, xviii. 3, 4) by way of reparation to outraged morality. The eastern religions were, besides, always objects of suspicion to the senate. There was in them a spirit of proselytism, which, acting secretly, caused alarm to the government, who took these religious associations either for secret societies, which the Roman law forbade (*Dig.*, xlvii. 22, fr. 1, 3), or for societies formed for the practice of vices, like the hideous sect of bacchanals discovered in 186. In respect to inoffensive forms of worship they had full security, and the governors of provinces were to protect their temples, property, and rights of asylum. (Tac., *Ann.*, iii. 60–63.) Gaius says, distinctly (*Inst.*, ii. 7): . . . . *quod in provinciis non ex auctoritate populi Romani consecratum est (quanquam) proprie sacrum non est, tamen pro sacro habetur.* (Cf. Cic., *II in Verr.*, ii. 50, 52, iv. 49.) Later we shall see where and why the Christians were persecuted.

[3] Jos., *Ant. Jud.*, xviii. 3, and in twenty other places. An officer of the government guarded even, in the fortress of Antonia, the ephod and sacred vestments of the high priest. (*Id., ibid.*, 6.) In Italy, in respect to all that concerned worship, the cities were under the jurisdiction of Rome, *juris atque imperii Romani esse.* (Tac., *Ann.*, iii. 71.) See in chap. xxxv. the decree in regard to the bacchanals.

Ancient Aqueduct at Catana (*Bibliothèque nationale*).

senate,[1] so that they were understood to hold their appointment from the State, and in virtue of this their persons were held inviolable during their term of service.[2] Their duties were not strictly defined, but in general they owed to their chief the support of their counsel and of their military skill. Ordinarily, he divided with them the administration of the province. In this case they ruled, each in his district, and under the control of the governor, to whom they referred all doubtful cases, never exercising, however, the *jus necis*, which belonged only to the magistrate invested with the *merum imperium*. "In the Tarraconensis," says Strabo, "the proconsul has under his orders three legions and three lieutenants; one, with two legions, keeps guard over the Gallæci, the Astures, and the Cantabri; another, with the third legion, over the entire coast as far as the Pyrenees; the third has under his jurisdiction the tribes established in the interior and upon the two banks of the Ebro. The consul himself passes the winter either at Tarragona or at Carthagena, and there administers justice. During the summer he goes on circuits to rectify abuses which may have crept into the administration."[3]

Insignia of the Quæstor.[4]

Below the legates, or beside them, was the quæstor, specially charged with all the details of the financial administration. He received from the public treasury the sums necessary for the pay and subsistence of the troops, for whatever was bought in the province, and for the expenses of the Roman administration. Certain taxes not farmed out to the publicans were levied by him. The Romans did not understand the principle of the subdivision of

[1] The senate determined their number. Thus, in 56, Cæsar had ten (Cic., *ad Fam.*, i. 7), Pompeius fifteen. (Plut., *Pomp.*, 25.)

[2] *Adimere mandatam jurisdictionem licet proconsuli non autem inconsulto principe.* (*Dig.*, i. tit. xvi. fr. 6, § 2.) No accusation could be received against them during the time that they were in service (Cic., *in Vatin.*, 14.), and they must await the arrival of their successor.

[3] iii. p. 166. He might establish his tribunal wherever it seemed best to him. (Jos., *Ant. Jud.*, xx. 5.) Quadratus established his in the city of Lydda. Pliny says also: *In publicis negotiis intra hospitium eodem die exiturus vacarem.* (*Epist.*, x. 85.) In very serious cases, or if it were a question involving personages of distinction, the governor sent the accused to Rome. (Jos., *Ant Jud.*, xx. 5, and *Bell. Jud.*, ii. 7.)

[4] Reverse of a Macedonian tetradrachm, very probably of the legate Sura who was quæstor. The *subsellium*, or quæstor's seat, is represented, and a *cistus* destined to receive the money for distributions.

power, and therefore the quæstor, although his principal duty was the charge of the finances, might be called to all other duties; his experience and energy were at the service of the proconsul, who employed him as judge, administrative officer, or general, as the exigency of the moment might require. Like the ædiles at Rome, the quæstor had a jurisdiction of his own, and the right of issuing certain edicts.[2] At the end of the year, he made a report of his financial administration; and a Julian law required him to deposit at Rome in the *ærarium* a statement of receipts and expenses, besides leaving a copy of the same in two cities of the province. Sicily had two quæstors, one residing at Syracuse, the other at Lilybæum.

Insignia of the Quæstor.[1]

V.—Obligations of the Provincials.

The inhabitants of the provinces owed to their governors absolute obedience; to Rome, moreover, they owed a tribute, for the provinces were the estates of the Roman people, *quasi prædia populi Romani*.[3] From the moment of conquest the Romans had appropriated all the royal domains, and sometimes the common lands, or even the whole territory, in cases where certain cities had by special courage and patriotism merited unusual severity from the victors. This land immediately became part of the domain of the Roman people, and fell under the same regulations.[4] In respect to the lands left to the natives, their character was changed. By reason of the war, the inhabitants of the provinces, in lieu of ownership, had nothing left them but the possession of the soil;[5] they were perpetual tenants, and the token

[1] ΟΥ(Α)ΗΙΟΣ ΤΑΜΙΑΣ. The *subsellium*, a wand, and the vase which received moneys, or the *tesseræ* to be distributed among the people in a *congiarium*.

[2] The quæstor was not chosen by the governor, but was assigned to him by lot. (Cic., *ad Quint.*, I. i. 3.) Nevertheless, the relations between the two were almost son and father. (Cic., *pro Planc.*, ii.) The quæstor was *consulis particeps omnium rerum consiliorumque*. (Cic., *II in Verr.*, II. i. 15.) He had two lictors with the bundles of rods, but without the axes.

[3] Cic., *II in Verr.*, iii. 18. Cf. *ibid*, ii. 3, and *de Offic.*, iii. 21. He calls the people of the provinces the colonists of the Romans: *Cum illis sic agere, ut cum colonis nostris solemus.*

[4] Livy, xxv. 28; Cic., *adv. Rullum*, ii. 21.

[5] *In eo solo dominium populi Romani est . . . . nos autem possessionem tantum et usumfructum habere videmur.* (Gaius, *Inst.*, ii. 7.) Cf. Cic., *II in Verr.*, iii. 6; App., *Bell. civ.*, ii. 140.

of this diminution of right was the tribute which the holders were obliged to pay to the real proprietor, the Roman people.[1]

These contributions were of four kinds: the personal tax; the tax on land; duties and royalties; requisitions.

The personal tax was estimated upon the *census*, that is to say, upon each man's fortune.

The land tax, paid either in money[2] or in kind,[3] was fixed at a tenth of the produce.[4] This ratio seemed more favourable to those paying tribute, since, if Rome profited by good harvests, she incurred also all the risks of bad years; while, in the case of a money tax, the sum was fixed and must be paid, even though the land had given no return.[5] The Roman citizen, holding lands in a province, paid the same tax as the provincials.[6]

There were requisitions of diverse sorts, some occasional, others permanent. Thus the people of a province must furnish to the magistrate who came to watch over their safety the corn necessary for his household, either directly, in which case the senate fixed the quantity, or by a money tax, and again the senate took care to determine in advance the price at which the corn should be reckoned.[7] Sometimes, for the use of the armies, or in consequence of a bad harvest, the senate required a second

[1] *Id autem imperium cum retineri sine vectigalibus nullo modo possit, æquo animo parte aliqua suorum fructuum pacem sibi sempiternam redimat (Asia) atque otium.* (Cic., *ad Quint.*, I. i. 11.)

[2] Cic., *II in Verr.*, iii. 6.

[3] App., *Bell. civ.*, ii. 140. Certain nations paid only a tenth: Δεκάτην αὐτοῖς μόνην καρπῶν ἐπετάσσομεν, and Cicero, enumerating the principal sources of revenue that the Roman people possessed in Asia, says frequently: *scriptura, decumæ, portorium.* (*Pro Flacco*, 8; *pro lege Manilia*, 6).

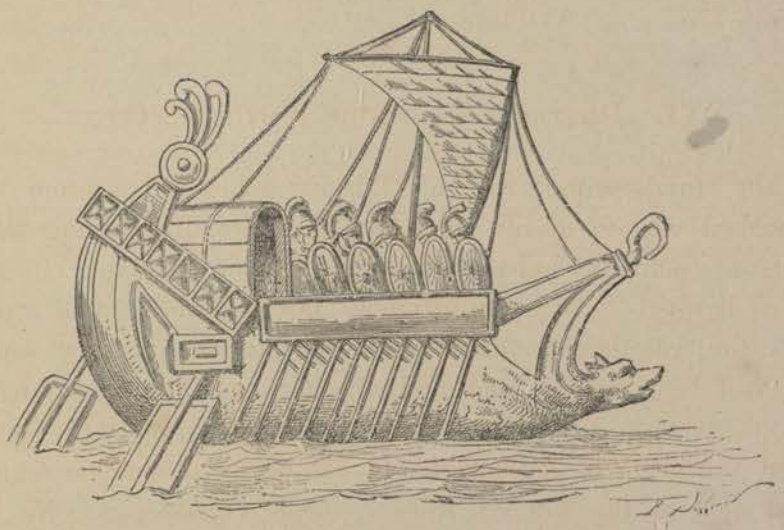
[4] *Agri vectigales multas habent constitutiones. In quibusdam provinciis fructus partem præstant certam, alii quintas, alii septimas, alii pecuniam et hoc per soli æstimationem. Certa enim pretia agris constituta sunt, ut in Pannonia arvi primi, arvi secundi, prata, silvæ glandiferæ, silvæ vulgares, pascua. His omnibus agris vectigal est ad modum ubertatis per singula jugera constitutum. Horum æstimio, ne qua usurpatio per falsas professiones fiat, adhibenda est mensuris diligentia. Nam et in Phrygia et tota Asia, ex hujus modi causis tam frequenter disconvenit quam Pannonia.* Hygin., *de Limit. Constit.*, ed. Goes, p. 198. But these differences were not well established till after the register of Augustus.

[5] App., *Bell. civ.*, v. 4. But this was, however, the system which gave most opportunity for exactions; and Cæsar was obliged to change it for a fixed tax. (App., *ib.*, v. 5; Dion., xlii. 6.)

[6] Cic., *II in Verr.*, iii. 12. *Tot Siculi tot equites Romani (ibid.*, 14); *Septitio . . . . equite Romano, affirmante se plus decuma non daturum (ibid.*, 25; and *pro Flacco*, 32). The decree of the senate giving liberty to Chios bears even: Οἵ τε παρ' αὐτοῖς ὄντες Ῥωμαῖοι τοῖς Χείων ὑπακούωσιν νόμοις. (Bœckh., *Inscript.*, No. 2222.)

[7] *Frumentum in cellam*, and *frumentum æstimatum.* (*II in Verr.*, iii. 81–5.)

tenth, but this was paid for.[1] If the governor judged it necessary to equip a fleet to protect his province against pirates, ships were to be built, sailors and soldiers furnished, all maintained and paid by the city which was under obligation to furnish them.[2] If an army was necessary, the province must furnish corn to feed it. The senate paid for this contribution, but at a price of their own fixing, and the provincials were obliged to transport the corn to such points as suited the prætor's convenience. Huts



Ship Equipped.

for winter quarters were also due from them, and sometimes even auxiliaries for the legions.[3]

The senate reserved for itself the mines of precious metals,

[1] Thus Cicero speaks of *frumentum emptum* as opposed to *frumentum decumanum*. (*II in Verr.*, iii. 81.) In three years Verres received 37,000,000 *sesterces* for the purchase of corn in Sicily at the expense of Rome. In provinces less fertile, the senate required only a twentieth. (Cf. Livy, xxxvi. 2; xliii. 2; xlv. 31.)

[2] Cic., *II in Verr.*, v. 17, 24; *Philipp.*, xi. 12. Miletus, for example, was required to have ten ships always ready for service. (Cic., *II in Verr.*, i. 34.) Messina owed one vessel. Syracuse made ready a number upon the order of Verres.

[3] Livy, xxix. 1; xxxvi. 2; Cæsar, *Bell. Gall.*, i. 30; Cic., *II in Verr.*, v. 47. Thus Rome levied cavalry in Gaul (Cæs., *ibid.*, i. 15; Plut., *Crass.*, 17; *Ant.*, 37; App., *Bell. civ.*, ii. 49; iv. 88), in Spain (Plut., *Ant.*, 37; Cæs., *ibid.*, v. 26; App., *ibid.*, i. 89), in Thrace (Sall., *Jug.*, 38; Plut., *Luc.*, 28; Tac., *Ann.*, iv. 46), in Numidia (Sall., *Jug.*, 68; App., *ibid.*, i. 42). Crete and the Balearic islands furnished famous archers and slingers. (Livy, *Ep.*, lx.; Sall., *Jug.*, 105; App., *ibid.*, 249.) These auxiliaries were usually led by their native chiefs. (Cæs., *Bell. Gall.*, i. 18; viii. 12; *Bell. civ.*, iii. 59.) *Noricorum juventus* (Tac., *Hist.*, iii. 5); *Rætica auxilia* (*ibid.*, i. 67); *Rætorum juventus, sueta armis et more militiæ exercita* (*ibid.*, 68). The Helvetii supported at their own expense a garrison in a strong castle. (Tac., *ibid.*, i. 67.)

the quarries of marble, and even of certain other kinds of stone, the salt works, the fisheries and the customs. These latter were of considerable importance, for Rome had maintained all the port dues which she had found already existing. The duty in the harbour of Syracuse was 20 per cent. *ad valorem.*[1]

Still further, the money paid by private individuals for the right to send their flocks into the public pastures, may be considered as a tax paid by the provinces, or, at least, as a source of revenue to the Roman people.[2]

VI.—Different Classes of Provincial Cities.

The fundamental rule of Roman policy in relation to the vanquished was to divide the populations by diversifying the conditions of political existence bestowed upon nations, cities, and even individuals. By creating new interests, the senate strove to efface the recollection of former independence; they separated what had been united, and united what had been separated, and made degrees in servitude, causing the yoke to weigh unequally so that the different nations should not be by a common oppression united against the foreign ruler:[3] *divide et impera!* No people ever more skilfully practised this maxim, and in the case of none was it ever more conspicuously successful.

Each province, far from forming a homogeneous whole, had

[1] The senate undertook directly the working of certain mines, and farmed out others where work had been already begun. The silver mines of Carthagena produced in the time of Polybius (xxxiv. 9, 8) an amount equal to 25,000 drachmæ a day, and 40,000 labourers were employed there. An ancient decree of the senate prohibited the working of the Italian mines; notwithstanding this, the censors farmed out a gold mine near Vercellæ, on condition that not over 5,000 men should be employed in it. The mines of Asturia, Lusitania, and Gallicia, gave annually in the time of Pliny (*Hist. Nat.*, xxxiii. 21) 20,000 pounds weight of gold. Cæsar farmed out in Crete the whetstone quarries, *cotorias locaret.* (*Dig.*, xxxix., tit. v., fr. 13.) There were mines of precious metals in Macedon, but Paulus Æmilius forbade the working of them, but permitted it in the case of the iron and copper mines. In regard to the port dues, see Cicero (*II in Verr.*, ii. 70, 75, and *pro lege Manilia*, 6). Being in Cilicia, he recommends to Atticus to send his letters *per magistros scripturæ et portus nostrarum diocesium.* His brother Quintus had allowed the publicans in Asia to levy the *portorium circumvectionis*, customs paid on transporting goods; this Cicero declares was not due (*ad Att.*, ii. 16).

[2] Festus, s. v. *Scriptuarius.*

[3] Ῥωμαίων . . . . οὐ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἑκάστοις χρωμένων, ἀλλὰ τοὺς μὲν συνέχειν, τοὺς δὲ καταλύειν βουλομένων. (Strabo, viii., p. 385.)

two classes of inhabitants: the *tributaries*, subject to the sovereign will of the governor, while still retaining their particular institutions; and the *privileged*, who were, so to speak, placed outside of the province, and, in consequence, withdrawn from the action of the Roman magistrate.[1] The latter consisted also of several subdivisions, collected into two great categories; the cities having a Roman organization, and those preserving their national constitution, the former, more numerous in the West, the latter chiefly existing in the East.

1. The *Roman colonies.* They had citizenship, that is to say, all the legal rights of the Roman *jus*, but not quiritary ownership, for provincial soil could not be raised to the same dignity with Italian, or possess like prerogatives,[2] of which the chief was the exemption from tribute.[3] The colonists being citizens, *pleno jure*, exercised all its rights during their sojourn in Rome, and might obtain its honours, that is to say, all public offices.

2. The *municipia*, whose inhabitants, *cives sine suffragio*, while retaining their own laws, enjoyed at Rome the prerogatives of the Roman citizen, except that they could not vote in the comitia, and could not aspire to public office. These cities were regarded as ranking below the colonies, and are always named after them by Pliny.[4]

3. The *Latin colonies*, whose magistrates, at the expiration of their term of office, were eligible for Roman citizenship.[5] The inhabitants of these colonies had the *jus commercii*, that is, the right

[1] Strabo says (iv., p. 187) of Nismes: "It has the Latin law." *Διὰ δὲ τοῦτο οὐδ' ὑπὸ τοῖς προστάγμασι τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης στρατηγῶν ἐστι τὸ ἔθνος τοῦτο.*

[2] *Provinciale solum nec mancipi est.* (Gaius, *Inst.*, ii. 27. See in chap. xxxvi.) .... *Provincialia prædia usucapionem non recipiunt* (Id., *ibid.*, 46); these colonies were not at liberty to organize at their own pleasure. *Jura institutaque omnia populi Romani non sui arbitrii habent.*

[3] There has been much discussion whether colonies of Roman citizens established in the provinces were subjected to the *tributum soli.* I have no hesitation in affirming that they were not, one reason for my opinion being that neither Cæsar nor Augustus would have invented a new right, the *jus Italicum,* if it had not already existed in the Roman colonies of the provinces.

[4] *Hist. Nat.*, ii. 4, 25, *seq.*; Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Att.*, xvi. 13: *Quæ tamen conditio (coloniarum), cum sit magis obnoxia et minus libera, potior tamen et præstabilior existimatur propter amplitudinem majestatemque populi Romani, cujus istæ coloniæ quasi effigies parvæ simulacraque esse quædam videntur.* Colonies have been known to seek to be changed into *municipia,* on account of this first reason, for example, the Prænestines in the time of Tiberius: *Ut ex colonia in municipii statum redigerentur.* (Aulus Gellius, *ibid.*, xvi. 13.)

[5] Cf. vol. i., p. 391.

to acquire and transmit quiritary ownership;[1] but they had not the *jus connubii*, which would have given the *patria potestas*, or power of the Roman father over all his descendants. When they resided at Rome, they voted in a tribe to which they were assigned by lot.[2]

4. The allied cities, *fœderatæ*,[3] such as Messina, Massilia,

Temple of Diana at Evora (former *Liberalitas Julia*).

Gades, Sparta, Athens, etc., who had concluded with Rome a

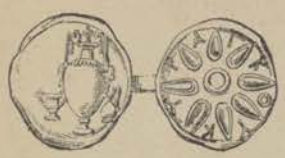
[1] By *usucapio, in jure cessio, mancipatio, vindicatio,* and the *testamenti factio.* Later, under the empire there rose another class of cities, having the *jus Italicum* which were exempt from the land tax, because their soil was assimilated to that of Italy.

[2] Livy, xxv. 3.

[3] They were bound to furnish, in case of need, auxiliaries, ships, and in Sicily a part of the *frumentum imperatum.* Cf. Cic., *II in Verr.*, v. 21. We may also name *Tauromenium* in Sicily; *Tarragona* (Pl. *Hist. Nat.*, iii. 3), and *Malaca*, in Spain; the *Vocontii*, the *Lingones*, the *Remi*, the *Ædui*, and the *Carnutes*, in Gaul; *Athens*, in Greece; *Rhodes* and *Tyre*, in Asia; *Amisus*, in Bithynia; *Utica*, in Africa, etc., etc. These cities, which had contracted a solemn alliance with Rome, by a formal treaty engraved on bronze in the Capitol and read publicly every year (Bœckh., *Inscr.*, No. 2485), were the most truly independent in their internal administration of all that were comprised in the Roman provinces. Cf. Pliny, *Epist.*, x. 94.

treaty on equal terms,[1] or an agreement implying an obligation to recognize the supremacy of the Roman people.

5. The *free cities*, having, like the allied cities, all the external show of independence, their own laws and entire jurisdiction, but holding this liberty by the good pleasure of Rome, and from a decree of the senate, instead of retaining it in virtue of a treaty;[2] these cities owed to the Roman treasury a fixed tribute in money, the *stipendium*. Corcyra, the Adriatic station for Rome's naval forces, was free, but a coarse proverb marks what this liberty[3] was worth. These cities were very numerous; they are found everywhere except in Sardinia.[4]



Coin of Corcyra.[5]

6. The cities exempt from taxation, *immunes*.[6]

We also find cities uniting several of these designations at the same time, being at once colonies and free, colonies and exempt, free and allies. Thus Patræ (Patras) had the right of citizenship when it became a Roman colony. Furthermore, it was free, because a great number of the people of the country having come into it, it appeared to be severe and impolitic to subject it, as was done in the case of all colonies, to the civil laws of Rome. By the concession of liberty, the city had the right to organize

[1] Justin, xliii. 5: *æquo jure percussum.*

[2] App., *Bell. civ.*, i. 102.

[3] Ἐλευθέρα Κόρκυρα, χεζ' ὅπου θέλεις. (Strab., vii., p. 329, fr. 8.) In respect to political matters, this liberty was of no value, but we shall see elsewhere that it was very considerable as concerning the interior administration.

[4] Cic., *pro Scauro*, 15. They were released from the onerous obligation of providing winter quarters. *Plebisc. de Thermens.*, lig. 45: *Ne quis magistratus . . . . milites . . . . hiemandi causa introducito.* They retained their own laws and magistrates, νόμοις χρωμένους τοῖς πατρίοις. (Polybius xviii. 29), and the proconsul was not to encroach upon their jurisdiction: *Omitto jurisdictionem in libera civitate contra leges senatusque consulta.* (Cic., *de Prov. cons.*, 3.)

[5] Three vases (*amphora cantharus prochus*) of different shapes. On the reverse, KOPKYPAI, between the spokes of a wheel (or the rays of a star). Triobol of Corcyra.

[6] *Immunity* by no means followed the concession of *liberty*. Thus, in 168, the Macedonians are declared free, but must pay tribute. (Livy, xlv., 29, 32.) Many Illyrian tribes, on the other hand, received, besides liberty, immunity. (Id., *ibid.*, 26.) Cæsar granted the same favour to the Atrebates (*Bell. Gall.*, vii. 6), Claudius to the inhabitants of Ilium, Antoninus to those of Pallantium (Pausan., viii. 43). Cf. Bœckh., *Corp. Inscr.*, No. 3610), and note. This was at that time the *immunitas plenissima*. Cf. Callistratus, in the *Dig.*, xxvii. 1, 17 § 1. Antioch was free, but in addition, Caracalla gave to the city the title of colony, but *salvis tributis*. (*Dig.*, l. 15, fr. 8, § 5.) I have said that these favoured cities were regarded as outside of the province; this expression, however, must not be understood too literally, for the Romans would not have so understood it. Tarsus, a free city, was the residence of the governor of Cilicia,

in accordance with its own ideas. These colonies, however, paid the land-tax, and the personal tax,[1] unless specially exempt by grant of *immunitas*,[2] or later, by the concession of the *jus Italicum*, which gave to the provincial soil one of the essential attributes of the Italian, namely, the exemption from property tax.

Certain cities, finally, had a patron at Rome, such as were the Marcelli for Sicily, the Catos for Cyprus, etc., or ties of hospitality with some noble personage, and could count in all

Sarcophagus from Patræ.[3]

cases upon his powerful interposition. This was an advantage, at times onerous, and not, however, furnishing a distinct political situation, except in cases where a city had contracted these ties with Rome herself.[4]

These cities prized distinctions as the men of that time prized

and a place where he administered justice; Panormus, in Sicily, was the same, notwithstanding its title of *civitas libera*. It is true that in this case the city had its own jurisdiction also. Sallust says (*Jug.*, 31): *Indignabamini ærarium expilari, reges et populos liberos paucis nobilibus vectigal pendere*; and Appian (*Bell. civ.*, i. 102) says that, in the time of Sylla, nations and kings, friends or allies, and not merely the tributary cities, but also the allied cities with whom Rome had made treaty, granting them liberty and immunity, now all paid tribute and owed obedience, *πᾶσαι συντελεῖν ἐκελεύοντο καὶ ὑπακούειν*. Immunity released even from paying the tenth, at least in Sicily (Cic., *II in Verr.*, ii. 69; iii. 6; v. 21), and from certain onerous obligations, like that in respect to winter quarters. (*Plebiscit. de Thermens.*, i. 45–55.) Furthermore, the immunity was personal, not territorial, *Halicyenses, quorum incolæ decumas dant, ipsi agros immunes habent*. (Cic., *II in Verr.*, iii. 40.) The *incola* is the individual resident in a city, but not a citizen of it. When the State called for the double tithe from a province, the cities which were *liberæ* and *immunes* were obliged to furnish corn at a fixed price. Cic., *II in Verr.*, iv. 9; iii. 73.) Strabo, speaking of the Eleuthero-Laconians, says (viii., p. 365): *πλὴν τῶν φιλικῶν λειτουργιῶν ἄλλο συντελοῦντες οὐδέν*.

[1] *Dig.*, l., tit. 15, fr. 8, § 7.

[2] Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, iii. 3, 4.

[3] Lebas and Waddington, *Voyage archéol. en Grèce et en Asie min.*, pl. 93, fig. 1.

[4] *Hospitium privatum, hospitium publicum.* (Livy, i. 49; v. 50.) Cære is the only instance we are able to name of "public hospitality" with Rome. At the same time it is certain that this relation was often established with the cities or tribes on the frontiers, for the *Digest* speaks of

personal honours. Among the cities in a province, there were ranks, and consequent precedence.

There was not merely difference between cities, but also between fellow-citizens of the same city, for the right of Roman citizenship, Latin rights, immunity and liberty might be granted, with hereditary succession, to families or to individuals.[1]

Thus, a Liparæan having saved the life of some deputies sent into Greece by the senate, his descendants, when, about a century and a half later, Rome made the conquest of their island, were declared exempt from all tribute.

We have not completed an enumeration of all the conditions of the subject. Rome willingly conferred her citizenship on the provincials,[2] but by degrees. Thus it was possible to have Roman citizenship, but without the right of aspiring to public office.[3] To become a Roman citizen, an Egyptian must first be made a citizen of Alexandria.[4] Again, this distinction existed among subject cities, that to some more favoured, their lands had been left or restored on payment of a certain royalty, the tenth (*civitates decumanæ*);[5] while to others less fortunate the royalty was a variable sum,[6] the collecting of which was farmed out by the censors (*civitates censoriæ*).[7]

The province, it will be seen, was far from forming a homogeneous whole. Still further, the provinces differed from one another, their position towards Rome not being the same. We

it as a habitual condition. *Si cum gente aliqua neque amicitiam, neque hospitium, neque fœdus, amicitiæ causa factum, habemus* (xlix., tit. 15, § 4, 9, 2). In respect to patrons, they are referred to in countless inscriptions.

[1] Diodorus, xii. 39. As regards citizenship, examples abound everywhere. (Cic., *pro Balbo*, 3.) Josephus had obtained from Titus ἀτέλειαν, ἥπερ ἐστι μεγίστη τίμιὴ τῷ λαβόντι. (*Jos. Vita*, 76.)

[2] *Stipendiarios ex Africa, Sicilia, Sardinia, cæteris provinciis multos civitate donatos videmus* (Cic., *pro Balbo*, 9) . . . . *singillatim* (id., *Phil.*, ii. 37).

[3] Tac., *Ann.*, xi. 23–25.

[4] Plin., *Epist.*, x. 22. This obligation was imposed by Octavius.

[5] Cic., *II in Verr.*, iii. 6.

[6] Cic., *in Rull.*, i. 4.

[7] *Is ager a censoribus locari solet.* (Cic., *II in Verr.*, iii. 6.) Sicily had three allied cities, five free and exempt cities, thirty-four cities paying tithes, and about twenty-five whose dues were farmed out by the censors (Cic., *II in Verr.*, iii. 6); Sardinia had only cities paying the *stipendiarium* (Cic., *pro Scauro*, ii. 44); Corsica, two colonies (Sen., *ad Helv.*, 8); the Tarraconensis, after Augustus, twelve colonies, thirteen *municipia* with right of Roman citizenship, eighteen with the *jus Latii*, one allied city, 135 paying *stipendiarium*, and 293 other cities or villages depended on them; Bætica, nine colonies, eight *municipia*, twenty-nine Latin cities, six free cities, three allied, and 120 paying *stipendiarium*. (Pl., *Hist. Nat.*, iii. 1.)

have already seen that some had a governor of higher, and others of lower rank. The privileges of which we have just spoken had moreover been dispensed through each province in varying manner; their municipal institutions had nothing in common, and as their rights suffered, their obligations also varied. It is not possible to determine what each paid to Rome, but it is clear they neither paid similar sums, nor in the same manner.

Thus Gaul and Macedon seem to have given only a fixed sum.[1] Most of the cities of Carthaginian Africa,[2] Egypt,[3] Syria and Cilicia[4] paid capitation taxes even for women, and in Egypt, as its seems, for slaves. This last province was later charged with feeding the Roman people for four months.[5] Sicily and Sardinia paid their tithes in kind, and Sardinians besides paid a tribute according to property.[6] Africa and Spain bought back their harvests at a price which never varied whatever might have been the inclemency of the season.[7] Asia and Greece paid the land-tax.

It was difficult to introduce as much variety into the method of collecting the tax. The tax-gatherer must be either Roman or native. The senate authorized the Spaniards,[8] Cæsar permitted the Asiatics,[9] and Paulus Æmilius the Macedonians, to make their own collections. In Greece,[10] in Asia before Cæsar's time,[11] and in Sicily the tax-gatherers were publicans, who had bought

[1] *Vectigal certum quod stipendiarium dicitur.* (Cic., *II in Verr.*, iii. 6.) Macedon gave in this way 100 talents (about £20,900). Plut., *Æmilius*, 28. Gaul, 40,000,000 *sesterces* (about £300,000). Suet., *Cæs.*, 25; Eutrop., vi. 17.

[2] App., *Lib.*, 135. In Africa the tax was *ἐπὶ τῇ γῇ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς σώμασιν, ἀνδρὶ καὶ γυναικὶ ὁμοίως.*

[3] Jos., *Bell. Jud.*, ii. 16. The tribute was more than 12,000 talents. (Str., xvii., p. 798.)

[4] App., *Syr.*, 50. The tribute was one per cent. of the valuation. Cicero, *ad Att.*, v. 16 *imperata ἐπικεφάλαια. Ad Fam.*, iii. 8: *acerbissima exactio capitum et ostiorum.*

[5] Jos., *Bell. Jud.*, iv. 10, 5.

[6] Livy, xxiii. 32; Cic., *pro Balbo*, 18; Hirtius, *de Bell. Afr.*, 98. Some have understood Cicero to place Sicily in the same category (*II in Verr.*, ii. 53). *Omnes Siculi ex censu quotannis tributa conferunt* (id., *ibid.*, 55, 56). But here we must understand by *tributa* the tax necessary to pay the expenses of the town, levied upon the citizens. In his oration *pro Flacco*, 9, Cicero again uses the word *tributa*, clearly to designate the private revenues of cities. This is also the view taken by Huschke, *Ueber den Census und die Steuerverfassung*, p. 8.

[7] Cic., *II in Verr.*, iii. 6.

[8] Livy, xliii. 2.

[9] App., *Bell. civ.*, v. 4: *Ὑμῖν τοὺς φόρους ἐπέτρεψεν ἀγείρειν παρὰ τῶν γεωργούντων*

[10] Cic., *de Nat. deorum*, iii. 19.

[11] Cic., *II in Verr.*, iii. 6; *ad Quint.*, i. 10; *ad Att.*, i. 17.

at Rome the right of collecting the tributes. In Sicily, certain tithes, those of wine and oil and of small crops, were farmed out, before the time of Verres, by the quæstors in the island itself.

When the Romans had conquered Latium, they prohibited all trade between the Latin cities. The same prohibition was laid upon the Macedonians, when they were distributed into four districts after the fall of Perseus; upon Illyria, divided into three cantons, which were to remain absolute strangers to each other;[1] upon Achæa, after the fall of Corinth.[2] An expression used by Cicero shows that everywhere the same policy was pursued: "Diocles of Panormus," he says, "had hired a field in the territory of Segesta, for between those cities there was a right of trading."[3] The *jus commercii* therefore was the exception, and the prohibition was the rule, since the orator was obliged to explain how the inhabitants of one city could occupy land belonging to another city. It is true the two cities were free, that is to say, they were two so-called independent States, but this class of cities were very numerous, and it cannot be doubted that their independence was often limited in this respect. The Roman citizen, being able to buy and sell everywhere, found it too much for his advantage to be free from rival enterprises for the senate not to multiply these prohibitions.

The province, divided internally as we have seen, had no bond of union with adjacent provinces. They were a foreign land, *aliena*. Thus a person might be exiled from his province.[4] The proconsul who crossed the boundaries of his province incurred the charge of treason; and a city—at least this was the case in Bithynia by the Pompeian law—could not give to the inhabitant of another province the right of citizenship.[5] These prohibitions accorded so well with the narrow spirit of the ancient municipalities that they were accepted without resistance.

Since feudalism, that is to say, the reign of the castles, has passed over modern societies, the country is separated from the city. A city now has but a narrow belt of suburbs surrounding

[1] Livy, xlv. 26, 29. [2] Pausan., vii. 16. [3] Cic., *II in Verr.*, iii. 40.

[4] Suet., *Claud.*, 23; Pliny, *Ep.*, x. 61; Tac., *Ann.*, xv. 20. This is the same with the French *internement*.

[5] *Non civitatis alienæ.* (Plin., *Epist.*, x. 115.)

it; formerly it had a province. At the present day the well-to-do class and a large proportion of the working class live and die in the city. A whole life is spent there, because there is trade, industry, intellectual activity, all the resources and all the pleasures of civilization. Among the ancients life was spent in the country in the rude labours of agriculture, the only industry with which they were acquainted, and in the solitude which such an existence imposes. At the same time there was need of a place of refuge in case of invasion, of gathering for the discussion of common interests, a fortress and a public square, the capitol and the forum, the acropolis and the agora. This was the city, usually placed upon a height easily susceptible of defence. This fortified enclosure (*urbs ἄστυ*) formed, with the territory dependent upon it, the city (*civitas πόλις*).

It is in many cases difficult to draw the dividing line so as to avoid, on the one hand, coming down to a lifeless atom, or on the other, leaving a whole which is both heterogeneous and cumbersome by its bulk. The [French] *commune* is too small; France has 36,000 of them, but the Roman city was too large; in Gallia Comata, from the Rhine to the Pyrenees, there were only sixteen. They were really small States, with a complicated administration, including many secondary cities,[1] with a budget, magistrates for taking of the census, for the administration of justice, for the superintendence of public works, of police, of public health, of all the interests of the city and of the territory, and ready, upon the withdrawal of the hand which kept the peace among them, to arm their militia and send them out against

[1] Nismes had dependent upon her twenty-four towns. (Strabo and Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, iii. 5.) A hundred and seventy-nine cities of the Tarraconensis possessed 293 villages. (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, iii. 3.) The towns of the Carni, in the Carnic Alps, were in the jurisdiction of Tergeste (Zumpt., *Decretum municipale Tergestinum*); Calatia was dependent upon Capua, Caudium upon Beneventum. (Becker and Marquardt, *Handbuch der Röm. Alterth.*, iii. p. 3.) This was the Greek principle: for example, there was but one city in Attica and one in Laconia, though in these two provinces there were many towns. Accordingly, the Greeks often used the name of the city for that of the territory. These secondary places, *loci*, were called in Italy, *fora, conciliabula, vici, castella.* The principal places were generally called *municipia* or *oppida.* Where there were no cities, the country was set off into *pagi*, as in Pannonia, or into *regiones*, as in Mœsia, both being again sub-divided into *vici.* (Becker, *ibid.*) It would appear from the Julian law (*tabula Heracleensis*) that only inhabitants of *municipia*, colonies or prætectures, might be raised to the duumvirate or the quatuorvirate, the highest municipal offices (lines 15, 21, 24), but that the people living in the *fora* or the *conciliabula* could aspire to the decurionate. (lines 35, 45, 50, 54, 56, 61, 63.)

their neighbours whom they loved no better than great States are wont to love those whose frontiers touch their own.[1]

If this municipal organization left the governor little to do, unless he had the inclination to interfere in everything, it made the Roman empire, instead of a homogeneous people, a union of little States, most of them living under different conditions. Wrapped about and held in restraint by the administration above them, these cities will remain united only so long as the binding force holds firm, as soon as it is weakened, all ties will break, and the barbarians, few in number though they are, will subjugate, one after another, these nations, which having never had sentiments and interests in common, will not in the decisive moment be able to make common stock of their resources and their courage.

VII.—Provincial Assemblies.

Between the State and the commune, even if the latter were not reduced to its present insignificant proportions, there was needed an intermediate division, a political representation of the province itself. There ought, therefore, to have been below the formidable government whose seat was Rome, and above the humble and timid magistrates of the cities, men who could speak in the name of the province, that is to say, in the name of an important interest which the government was bound to treat with respect. Assemblies thus composed might no doubt have become embarrassing to the power of Rome, but they would have restrained its excesses. The institution would have been a good one; but was it possible?

The ancients were not so ignorant of the representative system

[1] See in Tacitus (*Hist.*, i. 65) the bitter hate existing between Lugdunum and Vienna, who attacked each other the instant that the troubles of the empire permitted them to do so with impunity, and the bloody combat between the people of Nuceria and of Puteoli (Id., *Ann.*, xiv. 17), Cicero, in a passage already cited (*ad Quint.*, I. i. 11), shows all these little States ready to tear each other in pieces if Rome did not impose peace upon them. Tyre and Sidon had been free, and Augustus was obliged to deprive them of liberty (18 B.C.) on account of the seditions which desolated them. (Dion Cassius, lxiv. 7.) Nero restores to the Greeks their liberty, and they at once return to their civil wars, Ἐς ἐμφύλιον στάσιν προήχθησαν. (Pausan., vii. 17, 4.) Vespasian, therefore, replaces them under the authority of a governor, saying that they have forgotten how to be free. (Id., *ibid.*)

as they have been said to be.[1] The Greek race, it is true, were never willing to emerge from their little cities[2] and form a great State, yet its tribes never lost sight of their fraternal origin, and in token of this common blood, they had certain national institutions in which religion, art, and pleasure had more share, no doubt, than politics, but which formed a tie between the members of the Hellenic family. The Amphictyons at Delphi were not always limited to affairs of the temple, and the Lycians had a genuine parliament, a wise people, "whose twenty-three cities," says Strabo, "sent deputies to an assembly held in a designated place. The most important of the cities sent three deputies, those next in rank two, and the humblest one. They contributed in a like proportion to the public expenses. . . . The assembly begins by naming a chief of the confederation; it then proceeds to the appointment of the other officers of the Lycian body. It appoints also the judges of all the tribunals. Formerly peace and war and alliances were determined in the same assembly, but this cannot now be done save by the consent of the Romans who accord permission only for deliberations concerning local interests. The number of magistrates and judges named by each city is in proportion to the number of votes it controls."[3]

The Lycian body was not an isolated instance. Greece, which had been the great political school of the world, desired, after passing through all phases, and as if to leave nothing untried, to also make the essay of representative government.[4] Commenced

[1] Concerning the ideas spread abroad in the ancient world in respect to a mixed and balanced government, see Cicero, *de Rep.*, i. 45; Tac., iv. 33.

[2] In Greece, exclusive of the islands, have been counted ninety-nine distinct States, thirty of which were free under the emperors. (Kuhn, *Beiträge z. Verfass. des Röm. Reichs.*, p. 125–9.)

[3] Strabo, xiv. p. 665. [See the interesting account of this constitution in Freeman's *Federal Government*, I. p. 208. *Ed.*] Caria was organized in the same manner. "The cantons having the most towns have also," he says, "the most votes in the general assembly; their association is known under the name of Chrysaoreon." (*Id., ibid.*, p. 660.) "If we want an example of a noble federative republic," says Montesquieu, "I will indicate the republic of Lycia." (*Espr. des Lois*, ix. 3.) I cite Montesquieu, for Lycia came to a bad end (Dion., lx. 17; Suet., *Claud.*, 25), and her institutions have been held responsible. See also Strabo, xiii. p. 631, concerning the tetrapolis of Phrygia, and Gruter (*Inscr.*, No. 2056) for the pentapolis formed by Odessus, Mesembria, Tomi, Istriani, and Apollonia.

[4] [Mr. Freeman has shown (*Fed. Govt.* I. p. 266, *seq.*) with what limitations this statement should be introduced. Practically, because only rich and idle men attended the meetings, the government was representative, but every free Achæan had a right to go and to vote.—*Ed.*]

too late, and amidst unfavourable conditions, the attempt failed. However, the brilliancy which the Achæan league cast over the last days of Greece gave this system a durable popularity. When the conquest was completed and secured, Rome left her new subjects to re-unite one after another the bonds which she had carefully broken. Everywhere confederations were re-formed, and if politically these new leagues had not even the shadow of liberty, yet they preserved the memory of it, and its reality might any day reappear under the forms which for the moment were but a deceitful show.[1]

Coin of Pergamus.[2]

Bithynia, Cappadocia, and Pergamean Asia had general assemblies, which were held successively in the principal cities of the province. Upon a coin of Pergamus is the temple of Rome and of Augustus with this legend, *Communitas Asiæ*. Cæsar gathered at Tarsus deputies from all the cities of Cilicia.[3] Mention is also made in the *Digest* of assemblies of Thracians and assemblies of Thessalians held at Larissa; in the code of a general priesthood or superintendence of the games of Syria and Phœnicia; in the medals and inscriptions of the province of Asia of a supreme pontiff, ἀρχιερεύς; and of a president of the sacred games, Ασιάρχης, chosen by deputies of the entire province, κοινὸν Ασίας.[4] At these meetings the deputies took a certain order determined by the rank

[1] The Ionians of the thirteen cities of Ionia (Eckhel, *Doctr. num.*, ii. p. 508, and Strabo, xiv. 639) always met at the Panionium, the Achæans at Ægium (Pausan., vii. 27), the Bœotians at Coronea (Böckh., *Corp. Inscr.*, i. p. 5 of the introduction); the league of the Phocians subsisted (Pausan., x. 5) as well as the Amphictyonic council. (*Id.*, *ibid.*, 8.) Hadrian instituted at Athens, in the Panhellenion, an assembly of all the Greeks. (Müller, *Æginet.*, p. 152, *seq.*; Bœckh, *Corp. Inscr.*, No. 385; and Ahrens, *de Athen. statu.*)

[2] COM(munitas) ASI(æ). Fortune standing, crowning Claudius in a bi-columnar temple consecrated to Rome and to Augustus, the first letters of which names are upon the pediment, ROM. ET AVG. Reverse of a silver coin of Claudius.

[3] *Ciliciæ civitates omnes Tarsum evocat . . . . ibi rebus omnibus provinciæ et finitimarum civitatum constitutis . . . .* (Hist., *Bell. Alex.*, 69.)

[4] These provincial assemblies were formed of σύνεδροι or deputies sent by each people, as we have seen in the case of Lycia, as Livy (xlv. 32) says in respect to Macedon: *Macedonum rursus advocatum concilium: pronuntiatum quod ad statum Macedoniæ pertinebat, senatores, quos synedros vocant, legendos esse, quorum consilio respublica administraretur* ("In regard to the high priest, ἀρχιερεύς, he belongs to the imperial epoch, and was the provincial chief of the worship of Rome and Augustus, which was the official religion of the Roman empire." (Lebas and Waddington, *Voyage archéol.*, sect. v., No. 885.) The *patroni provinciarum* at Rome represented also the unity of the province. (Cf. Orelli, n. 520, 3058, 3063, 3661, etc.)

of their cities, some coming first, like Ephesus and Pergamus, others in the seventh rank, like Magnesia in Ionia.

Testimony to this effect is abundant during the imperial

Votive Column of the Dioscuri found at Larissa.[1]

period, but the usage was ancient and anterior to the Roman conquest. Indeed, it has been shown in the course of this history

[1] In the centre, a festal couch for the divine guests; in front, a table, with sacred cakes, a priest making a libation, a woman raising her right hand towards the gods, whom she invokes, and the Dioscuri going by at a gallop in the sky; beneath them, Fortune, bearing a crown for those offering the sacrifice; below, the inscription, "To the great gods," a name often given to Castor and Pollux, "Danaa, daughter of [I]thoneite[s]." (Heuzey, *Mission de Macédoine*, p. 419 and pl. xxv.) This votive column is in the Louvre.

that all the Italian races had similar assemblies, that the Romans took part in the Latin *feriæ*, and that at one time a proposition was made that the allied cities should be allowed to elect two senators to sit at Rome with the Conscript Fathers of the Republic. These ideas, therefore, were not foreign to the Roman mind, and were carried with the Roman domination into those western regions where they had germinated spontaneously.

Ionian Coin.[1]

Cæsar will presently convoke the deputies of the *Further* Spain at Cordova and of *Nearer* at Tarragona. In Gaul he will call together every year the States-general of the country, and Augustus will assemble about him the deputies of the provinces through which he journeys. Before their time, Sertorius, in the Iberian peninsula, had pursued the same course.

Coin of Magnesian Ionia.[2]

Respecting the rights of these assemblies we know but little. In the West, Julius and Augustus Cæsar seem to have given them a political character by consulting them upon affairs of importance; in the East, they appear to have had, at least for the time with which our documents are concerned, authority only in matters of religion.[3] We find the assembly of proconsular Asia meeting in 165 A.D. in upper Phrygia and appointing the asiarchs,

[1] ΑΣΙΑΣ ΠΡΟΤΩΝ ΕΦΕΣΙΩΝ ΠΕΡΓΑΜΗΝΩΝ (the Pergamean Ephesians [being] the first of Asia). Hercules seated and Diana standing, her quiver on the ground; beneath, ΚΟΙΝΟΝ ΓΙ ΠΟΛΕΩΝ (the community [association] of thirteen cities), and ΠΡΟ ΜΚΑ ΦΡΟΝΤΩΝ (being procurator [or proconsul], Marcus Claudius Fronto). On other coins he is *asiarch*. The thirteen cities composing this community were Miletus, Ephesus, Erythræ, Clazomenæ, Priene, Phocæa, Teos, Lebedos, Colophon, Myus, the two islands, Samos and Chios, to which was added later Smyrna. Why are the Pergameans named in this inscription? No one can say. The cut represents the reverse of a very rare bronze of Antoninus, struck in Ionia. (Note of M. de Saulcy.)

[2] ΜΑΓΝΗΤΩΝ. ΕΒΔΟΜΗ ΤΗΣ ΑΣΙΑΣ (the people of Magnesia, seventh city of the province of Asia). Bacchus, a child, upon the mystic cistus, surrounded by a wreath. Reverse of a bronze coin of Ionian Magnesia, of Gordian III.

[3] In the inscriptions of Orelli, No. 3144, we find a *prætor Hetruriæ* XV. *populorum*. In No. 2182 mention is made of the *sacra Etruriæ*, and the Latin games lasted until the fourth century. (Lactantius, *Div. Inst.*, i. 21.) *Pacarius, vocatis principibus insulæ* (*Corsicæ*), *consilium aperit.* (Tac., *Hist.*, ii. 16.) United Sicily, *communis Sicilia*, decrees that statues shall be erected to Verres. (Cic., *II in Verr.*, ii. 59, 63.)

from whose number the Roman governor selected the one who should fill the very honourable but ruinous office of supreme pontiff for the entire province; a passage in Strabo proves the extreme antiquity of this usage.[1]

There was certainly in these essentially popular customs a germ which might have been developed, to the great profit of the provinces and the empire, but these assemblies were allowed to subsist, obscure and useless, so that the provincial government lacked the counterpoise which might so easily have been given it. If this idea be criticised, we may rejoin that history is by no means designed simply to register what has been done and to applaud it; that Rome, in becoming a world, was bound to suffer transformation, and that for a dominion so vast, one of two forms of government became inevitable, either that which she did in fact adopt, namely, the absolute power of the ruler, subordinating the prosperity of the empire to all the accidents of royal births, to all the hazards of an election in the barracks, or else a close union between Rome and her provinces by the effective participation of the latter in the general administration. Doubtless an organization like this would have shocked the old Roman prejudices, but a great State cannot be founded without forethought. Julius and Augustus Cæsar had this forethought for a brief time in Gaul; the senate might have carried it everywhere, for with these assemblies, which existed everywhere, it would have been easy to unite counsel and action, so as to submit arbitrary will to censure, and put a bridle upon misused power. Such a constitution Rome herself had with her senate and consuls; it was a question of giving it to her subjects, and then binding the provinces fast to Rome by granting to their assemblies what Spurius Carvilius had

Veiled Pontiff clothed in a Long Robe.[2]

[1] Aristides, *Orat.*, xxvi. p. 344–6; Strab., xiv. p. 649. This is a very high dignity, says Philostratus (*Sophist. vitæ*, lib. i. § 212), but very costly, *ὑπὲρ πολλῶν χρημάτων*. The asiarchs had the superintendence of the sacred games of the province; there were also asiarchs for the solemnities of the cities.

[2] Silver statuette in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 2874 of the catalogue. See in vol. i. p. 667, a bronze figurine almost similar, giving exactly the Roman pontifical costume.

asked, after the great massacre at Cannæ, for the citizens of the Italian cities.[1] The question well deserved to be studied and determined, for had the empire been better organized there would have been no Middle Ages.[2]

The Roman Catholic clergy well understood the importance of this machinery for establishing over immense districts a community of interests and beliefs. They imitated with their synods of bishops these provincial assemblies, so that if the latter did not bring the representative system into the State, we may at least say that they aided in introducing it into religious organization. The Church crowned this work of deep sagacity by establishing above the provincial synod a supreme senate, the œcumenical council, and this double institution long secured unity to its faith, its discipline, and its empire. What Christian Rome knew how to do, why could not pagan Rome have done? The Roman pride and the interests of 200 families, whom we shall see in the last century of the Republic living upon the plunder of the whole world, did not permit it.

It is only fair, however, to recognize that the solution here indicated would have been extremely difficult in the face of those fatalities of education, of historic conditions and of hereditary prejudices which in all time reduce to a minimum true largeness of mind. The province, which never even succeeded in making itself recognized as a civil entity, capable of action and ownership, remained nothing more than a territorial division, and its governors, who regarded their appointment as a sentence of exile[3] when they did not regard it as a means of repairing a fortune, ruined by pleasure or by the purchase of an office, found themselves surrounded by weakness and servility, for there was nowhere that union which gives strength, or that dignity which springs from

[1] See vol. i. p. 616, the proposition of Carvilius in 216, and p. 322, the request of the Latin prætors in the year 340. Elsewhere we shall further consider this question of municipal and provincial organization.

[2] The Greeks of Asia were so far from being destitute of the desire to organize that they had given numerical rank to their cities; some were *metropoles*, and first, others second, seventh, etc. Thus Ephesus was πρώτη πασῶν (Eckhel, *Doctr. num.*, ii. p. 521); Magnesia was ἐβδόμη τῆς Ἀσίας (*id., ibid.*, p. 527); Aspendus τρίτη τῶν ἐκεῖ (Cilicia). (Philostrat., *Vita Apoll.*, i. 15.) Unfortunately all this was only a matter of vanity, and this organization only regulated precedence at the games and feasts of the province. (Cf. Eckhel, *ibid.*, iv. p. 288.)

[3] See Cicero, *ad Att.*, ii. 16, and all his letters dated from Cilicia.

the conviction of a man's rights which he desires and is able to assert.

Plutarch somewhere has an energetic sentence concerning the Asiatics, races who never, he says, knew how to say *No*. From one end to the other of the vast domains of Rome there was no longer—if we except a few mountaineers sheltered in inaccessible gorges—a nation who knew how to utter that word, and therefore, in spite of formulas and treaties, in spite of all the privileges we have enumerated at such length, there existed, in truth, but one condition throughout the provinces—the condition of subjects.

The Romans, then, never knew how to rise to any higher idea than that of force, and all their political science is expressed in two words, *divide et impera*. At the same time, under honest proconsuls and intelligent emperors, this principle was concealed under a noble name, the name of justice, *jus*, which was to control all the dealings of Rome with the provincials. When Pliny mentions a city he alludes to the tribunal to which the city is accountable, and where she comes to seek for justice, *jura petere*. Later, another form expressed the advantage, which was the compensation for this imperious sway, *pax romana*, that "Roman peace" destined to draw the nations together and blend all languages, the real imperial divinity to whom the greatest of the emperors, Augustus, Vespasian, and Trajan will build temples, and whose boundless majesty, *immensa romanæ pacis majestas*, the nations will honour with sincere homage.

[1] Peace seated, holding an olive branch and a sceptre; the legend, PAX AUGUST. Reverse of a gold coin of Vespasian.

Peace.[1]

SIXTH PERIOD.

THE GRACCHI, MARIUS, AND SYLLA (133—79);

EFFORTS AT REFORM.

CHAPTER XXXV.

HELLENISM AT ROME.

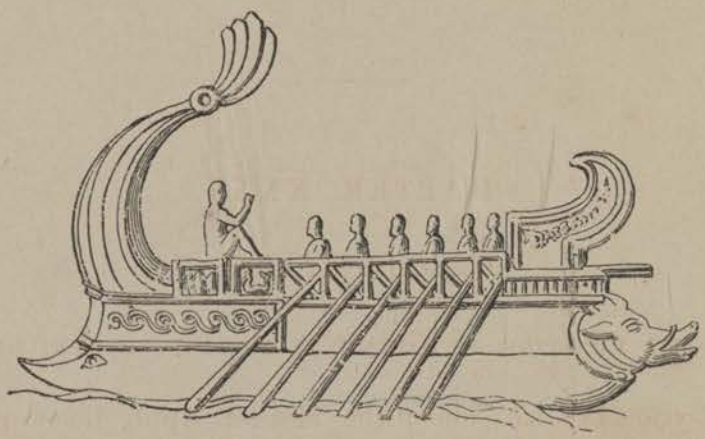
I.—Moral Condition of Greece in the Second Century B.C.

IN the year 146 B.C., about the ides of April, Rome presented a most animated aspect. For several days, says Appian, the senate had not met, the tribunals were deserted, and in the streets and squares are immense crowds gathered, seemingly expectant of some great event. Suddenly the news spread that from Ostia had been seen out at sea a ship adorned with the most magnificent trophies,[1] and bearing wreaths of laurel on her prow. They dared not yet believe in the good news, but towards evening the ship had entered the Tiber, and from a thousand voices the cry burst forth, "Carthage is taken!" The whole night was spent in the wildest revelry. "She is fallen at last," they said, "this hated rival!" The crowd gathered to listen where a few old men, here and there, were telling of a time they could remember when for sixteen years Numidian horses had trampled the soil of Italy, when across the smoking ruins of 400 cities, and plains strewn with 300,000 Roman corpses, a Carthaginian army had made its way to the very gates of Rome; and now the city whence Hannibal had

[1] Ναῦν . . . . κοσμήσας λαφύροις. (App., *Libyca*, 133.)

come was destroyed by Scipio! Corinth also had just fallen, and two triumphs were preparing, one for Metellus, the second conqueror of Macedon, the other for Mummius, victorious over the Achæans. Looking eastward beyond subjugated Greece, there were to be seen only trembling nations and enslaved kings. Viriathus was scarcely a shadow in this brilliant picture of the prosperity of Rome.

And yet, looking upon the ruins of Carthage, Scipio had wept as he thought of his own city. His were not idle and poetic



Transport Vessel (p. 202).

tears. These Romans of stern temper had not the chord in their hearts that vibrates to vague anxieties. Scipio knew his country: under the brilliant exterior he could see the slow disintegration of morals, religion, and of the people itself—the alarming decrease in the number of small landowners, the increase of slavery, the influence of the tax-farmers, the insolence of the nobles, the venality of the poor. In this inevitable transformation, the necessity of which he could not understand, he beheld dangers more formidable than Hannibal and Carthage. And he was right, for the old Rome was about to perish, and give place to a new.

In the preceding volume we have shown a patriciate taking the place of royalty, then constrained to share the government with the people, this fortunate union allaying internal discord. The best days of republican equality at Rome lie between the beginning of the Samnite war and the close of the second war with Carthage.

All was at that time common—magistracies, honours, and devotion to the public good, and to this equality of rights corresponded very nearly a similar equality of fortunes. The great consuls, Cincinnatus, Curius, Fabricius, when they were not invested with the triumphal robe, wore the peasant's tunic and lived in the peasant's poverty and industry. Patricians and plebeians vied with each other in their zeal to serve the State, and if the former gave Fabius and Papirius and the Scipios, the latter could boast of Decius, Metellus, and Marcellus. The Romans of that time were indeed a great people, rough and rude still, but full of the spirit of civic duty, and keeping, with their strongly constituted family life, the stern morality of early days. Accordingly, it was the epoch of the difficult victories over the Samnites and Pyrrhus, over Carthage and Hannibal, which made easy all that came later.

In these wars Rome had fought for her existence; she obtained empire by their means, but at the cost of her institutions. Under the stress of circumstances, she retraced her steps—she came back from equality to privilege, from the rule of a wise democracy, which was excellent for a city, to a centralized government, indispensable for a power which reached so far. Unfortunately this revolution was complicated by another; the economic conditions of society were changed by the conquest of rich provinces. Rome, whose manners had long been those of poverty, suddenly assumed those of wealth, but of wealth acquired by pillage, not by industry. The strife of classes sprung up again, and as in the early time, the city contained two distinct peoples. If time and the law had almost effaced the distinction between patrician and plebeian, a worse barrier was now raised between rich and poor, the former every day growing prouder and more insolent, the latter more wretched and submissive.

We must study closely this transformation, by which are explained the revolutions of the last hundred years of the Roman republic; on the one side, there was the invasion of Hellenism modifying the intellectual and moral life of the aristocracy; on the other, the incessant wars, by which the old race was wasted away, and replaced by freedmen, and for the prosperous termination of which it became necessary that all authority should be concentrated in the hands of the senate.

It was a moral and political revolution, less due to the ambition of men than to irresistible circumstances. Nations are not such masters of their fate that they can escape the consequences of their own deeds. Upon the world's theatre two unequal forces act—the liberty of man and historic fate—I mean that force of circumstances which man himself creates, since it results from deeds which he himself has done, but whose remote results no human wisdom can foresee, and whose effects no human will can completely control. Thus the invasion of Hellenism was the inevitable re-action of civilized subjects upon the barbaric conqueror, and an oligarchy arose inevitably out of the popular assembly, which was unsuited to watch over the important interests which resulted from victory.

"After the transmarine wars," says Cicero, "a great wave of new ideas and of knowledge poured into Rome."[1] But what was it that the Greeks of that day could give?

We have shown the weakness of Greece at the time when it was invaded by the Romans, with the purpose of thus explaining the facility of its conquest.[2] In now showing, as the poet says, how the Greeks avenged themselves on Rome by giving her their vices, we shall do well to examine their moral condition at the time.

The Greek people had lived so intensely that it had really a very long life, and at the epoch of which we speak was far advanced in age—the dishonoured old age of a people wasting in factiousness and turbulence the little strength that remained, having lost, too, the virtues of the time when all had together laboured for the common good. The youth (*ephebi*) still received their severe training, but upon their entrance into active life they quickly forgot what they had learned, for since Alexander had given the treasures of Persia to the Greeks, and since his successors offered them innumerable places at court, in which complaisance towards the master led to complaisance towards one's self, public morals, formerly preserved by poverty and danger,

[1] *De Rep.*, ii. 19. He says again, in the *pro Archia*, 3: *Erat Italia tunc plena Græcarum artium ac disciplinarum.*

[2] See vol. ii. p. 1, *seq.*

declined, and with all its brilliant exterior, this civilization seemed at last to aim at nothing but multiplying for man the means of satisfying his lowest desires.[1]

The chief object was to live well, not as Phidias and Plato had understood it, but after the manner, to quote Horace,[2] of those swine of Epicurus, who declared that reason and nature commands us to refer everything to the pleasures of sense.[3] The poets of the middle and new comedy at Athens return endlessly to this theme; one of them represents a cook explaining the important influence of the culinary art upon human affairs:

"What is all this nonsense you are talking?" says the poet Alexis.[4] "The Lyceum and the Academy and the Odeon, and the Amphictionic council—follies of sophists, in which I acknowledge nothing of value! Let us drink, my dear Sico, let us drink to excess and lead a merry life while we have the means to do so. . . . Virtues, embassies, commands, 'tis all vain glory and a vain rumour out of the land of dreams. Death will lay his icy hand upon you on the day the gods have appointed. What will then remain to you? What you have eaten and drunk, and no more. The rest is dust—dust of Pericles, of Codrus, or of Cimon!"

But is not this an outburst of ill humour in the poet? yes, certainly, but also a sign of the times. Ennius had just translated for the Romans the *Gastronomy* of Archestratus, and we know that to arrange a banquet skilfully was an object of ambition even to the severe Paulus Æmilius.

For this merry life gold was needful, and the men of that time sought it everywhere—in all things, even by vice and fraud. For many of them, their word was but a pawn in the game,[5] and there were those who dared to say, "O divine metal, gift

[1] *Græci vitiorum omnium genitores.* (Plin., *Hist. Nat.*, xv. 4.) See in Plautus, *passim*, the definition of Greek life, *pergræcari.* [We must remember that there were many noble exceptions.—*Ed.*]

[2] . . . . *Epicuri de grege porcum.* (*Ep.*, I. iv. 16.) Cicero had also said: *Epicure noster, ex hara producte, non ex schola.* (*In Pis.*, 16.)

[3] Athenæus, xii. 67. [Cf. also my *Social Life in Greece*, chap. xi, for further details.—*Ed.*]

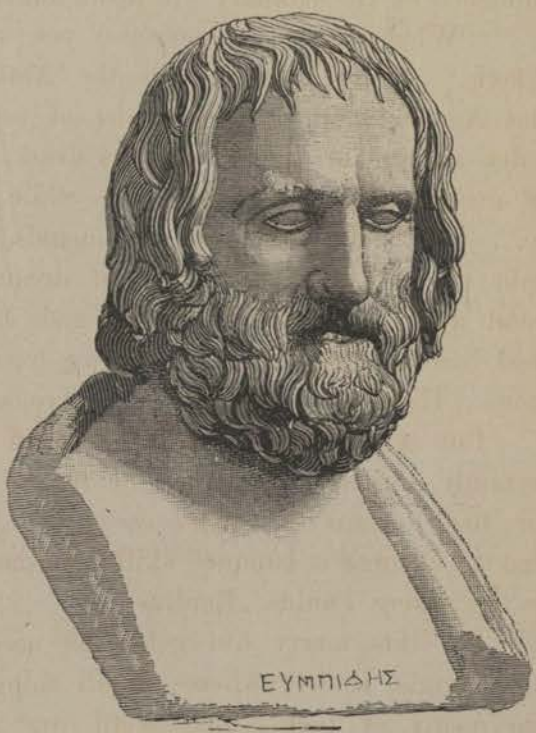
[4] Fragment preserved by Athenæus. (See *Fragm., Comic. Græc.*, ed. Didot, p. 524.) Alexis was born at Thurii (Suidas, s.v. Ἀλεξις) shortly before the destruction of that city by the Lucanians in 390. By birth, therefore, he was Italian, but he lived at Athens and died about 288. Aulus Gellius (ii. 23) says that some of his numerous plays were translated or imitated at Rome. [Cf. my *Hist. of Greek Lit.*, i. p. 476.—*Ed.*]

[5] See in Plautus, *Asinaria*, v. 199, and elsewhere what was meant by "Greek faith."

most precious made to mortals; a mother is not so dear as thou art!" or, again, "Call me a swindler provided I win!"[1] An expression habitual in Greece was, "Lend me your testimony, and I will do the same for you."[2] What dishonesty, moreover, what depravity in public and in private life! Polybius has already shown this to us.[3]

Coin of Mallos.[4]

But all things answer one another; mental power declined with moral tone. To the serious working of the intellect had succeeded a research after subtleties. The imagination, so powerful with young nations, was lost, and Greek genius, exhausted and no longer able to create, observed, analyzed, criticized. Commentators succeeded poets; Aristarchus ruled at Alexandria, Crates of Mallos at Pergamus.[5] Poetry and eloquence were gone; Demosthenes and his rivals had been the last of the Athenian orators, Euripides and Aristophanes the last poets. Since the fourth century opened tragedy was dead; down to the third, certain



Euripides.[6]

[1] Diodorus (xxxvii. 30) says that these lines were in everybody's mouth.

[2] See how Cicero arraigns the Greeks in the *pro Flacco*, especially in § 4.

[3] See chap. xxvi. For the frightful corruption of the Greek world, consult especially Athenæus—upon Demetrius of Phalerum, xii. 60, upon Antiochus Theos, vii. 35 and x. 10, upon the cities of Syria, xii. 35, upon the philosopher Anaxarchus, xii. 70, etc.

[4] Satrap's head; reverse, a bull in a parallelogram, (M)AAAΩT(ω)N. Silver coin of Mallos.

[5] Crates was sent, about 152, by Attalus on an embassy to Rome, where he gave numerous lectures. (Suet., *de Illust. Gramm.*, 2.)

[6] Bust in the Museum of Naples. [This poet marks the transition from the old to the new.—*Ed.*]

writers may still claim a place apart, such as Menander, the best type of what is called the new comedy, which Terence was to imitate at Rome, such as Callimachus and Theocritus, poets of elegies and pastorals, two forms which flourish in the decay of societies and literatures. The principal merit of Apollonius of Rhodes, the epic poet of this period, is a sustained mediocrity,[1] and Lycophron, the most celebrated of the members of the Alexandrian Pleiad, executed designs with his verses —eggs, axes, etc. One of his poetic caprices is to represent Hercules in the belly of a whale,[2] borrowed perhaps from the Septuagint, and to complete his record, he invented the anagram. Among the Greeks of the decadence, letters, once the city's glory, the dazzling sign of religious and political life, because they were the homage of genius to the gods and to the fatherland, were reduced to the mere amusement of a frivolous society. In the second century one name alone is noteworthy—that of Polybius, who might stand beside the greatest writers of Greece

Athlete with the *Strigillum* (attributed to Lysippus).

[1] Quintilian, x. 1; Longinus, *On the sublime*, xxxiii. 6. [But Cf. my *Greek Lit.*, i. p. 49.—*Ed.*]
[2] Lycophron, *Alexandra*, 31, *seq.*

had he united literary skill to his conscientious and penetrating historic faculty.

In art, the powerful impulse given by Phidias, Polycletus, Praxiteles, and Lysippus, had not yet ceased to make itself felt.[1]

These great men had bequeathed to the schools of Rhodes and Pergamus, at that time the most flourishing in the world, incomparable models, a skilful manner of handling, and technical methods which would for a long time support the faltering of genius. But already signs of decadence were appearing; some sculptors made statues colossal, believing they should thus make them great. At Rhodes ships under full sail could pass between the legs of the statue of Apollo, whose feet rested on the two piers of the harbour; others took from statuary its character of repose and serenity in striving to make it rival painting, not alone in the expression of emotion common to both, but in the representation of varied and violent scenes. They overwrought the marble so as not to leave a space where some muscle did not show, and overstrained the dramatic effect of the figures, as in the over-praised statue of the Laocoon, which has been called a tragedy in three acts, and that of the Farnese bull, lauded as a poem in stone.

The Farnese Bull.[2]

After all, the progress or decline of art mattered little to the Romans, who left to their subjects the work of keeping them

[1] No actual piece of Lysippus is extant; but we know there are several Roman copies, of which two are given above. [The famous Venus of Melos dates from late in the 3rd century B.C.—*Ed.*]

[2] Museum of Naples. The denouement of the tragedy of Euripides, *Antiope*, has furnished the subject of this fine group. The sons of Antiope, Amphion and Zethos, are tying to a wild bull the queen Dirce, who has maltreated their mother. The tragedy was imitated by the Roman Pacuvius.

supplied with statues and pictures. Greek art, accordingly, which at first was a worship, now becomes an industry, but although all that was once its inspiration declines and perishes, it will yet keep strength enough to live four centuries longer, and to embellish that new world of the West which Rome is destined to draw into civilized life. It is a memorable example of the power of schools and of traditions, a phenomenon which, for the same reasons, is reproduced among us, where during nearly three centuries the French school has suffered only partial eclipses, while others have entirely disappeared.

Religion, on the contrary, having never had doctrinal teaching nor a clergy constituted into a powerful corporation, was incapable of retaining the minds of men in the chains of the early faith.

The enlightened class went to the temples only through habit, and uttered the names of the gods only as an oratorical device. The Olympians were dying; Æschylus had already attacked them in his *Prometheus*, and Aristophanes, the audacious mocker, in his *Birds*, where he sports with the race of gods as with men. In the *Knights*, Nicias, the faithful servant of the worthy Demos (the people), desperate at the misfortunes which happen to him, can think of nothing better than to prostrate himself before the statue of some god. "What statue?" says Demosthenes to him. "Do you really believe that there are gods?" "Certainly."—"What proofs have you?" "The proof that they have a spite against me. . . ." "Well, there is nothing to say against that."

Greece seemed to lose the memory of her past; she forgot even her great men. Cicero prided himself for having discovered at Syracuse the tomb of Archimedes hidden under thorns; he saw the temple of Delphi deserted, the Pythia mute,[1] and an Ætolian had burned that of Dodona, the most venerable sanctuary of the Hellenic race.

During the brilliant days of Greece the oracles had played a great part, both religious and patriotic. But how laborious was the existence of the prophetic divinities now, interrogated every

[1] *Cur isto modo jam oracula Delphis non eduntur, non modo nostra ætate, sed jam diu; jam ut nihil possit esse contemptius?* (Cic., *de Divin.*, ii. 57.)

moment about wretched personal interests, and what suppleness of mind was needed for their priests to prepare ambiguous oracles which would satisfy the worshipper without compromising the credit of the god? There has lately been found under the ruins of the temple of Dodona a large number of appeals to the protection of Zeus Naïos.[1] A woman asks for a remedy which shall restore her to health, and private individuals apply for information as to which of three courses is best to follow; a shepherd promises tangible proofs of gratitude if the god will bring success to some speculation in sheep which he proposes to make; an Ambraciote wishes to know which divinity will give him health and fortune; Agis, how to recover the pillows and coverlets which have been stolen from him. The Jupiter of Homer and Phidias is fallen to the level of a fortune-teller!

Priest at Delphi.[2]

As the last outrage this religion no longer erected temples to any but the men of the time, and in bitter derision, as it were, vice had the honours of apotheosis. Thebes consecrated altars to the courtesan Lamia; Antiochus, "the god" (Θεός), ordered the worship of his unworthy favourite, Themison Heracles,[4] and "the virgin city" bestowed divine honours upon the sharers of the infamous pleasures of Demetrius Poliorcetes. The prayers of Athens to this prince were at once blasphemous and cowardly. At the celebration of the Eleusinian mysteries a choir of Athenians in white robes crowned with flowers came forward singing in their city's name: "The other gods are sleeping or on a journey; perhaps they do not even exist; to thee only, who art not made of wood or stone, to thee, present and living divinity, I address

Antiochus II., Theos.[3]

Demetrius Poliorcetes.[5]

[1] M. Carapanos, *Dodone et ses ruines*, p. 72–83.

[2] Young man inscribing upon a patera the oracle's answer. Gem (cornelian) in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 1899 of the catalogue.

[3] Diademed head of Antiochus II., "the god," from a gold coin.

[4] Athenæus, vi. 62.

[5] Diademed and horned head of Demetrius Poliorcetes, from a tetradrachm whose reverse is given p. 167.

my worship. Oh, well-beloved! make me enjoy peace and save me from my enemies, for I can fight no longer."[1]

We shall now inquire whether philosophy could offer to the souls of men the consolations which religion failed to give.

The Greek philosophy had already passed through three glorious phases of its history. It had studied—

Nature, considered as a harmonious whole by those whom Aristotle calls "the physicists;"

Mind, asserting its claim, since Anaxagoras, to be considered separately from matter, and becoming in the two great systems of Plato and Aristotle the universal cause;

And finally, *Morals*, striving, through the schools of Epicurus and Zeno, to take away from pure reason the primacy in the guidance of men's minds.[2]

We need not explain these doctrines, with which Greece was intoxicated, but in which the Romans took but little interest, the wisest among them agreeing with the words of Ennius, "One should only sip philosophy, not drink deep draughts of it." Their social results, however, we must follow out, because these made a part of Roman life.

Philosophy had been with Socrates and Plato more speculative, and with Aristotle more experimental. The latter gave indeed to the science of being the importance which it has kept, nay its very name, metaphysics, and found therein a divine unity; but in allowing nature a spontaneous power and in separating all nature from the Deity, he seemed to deny a Providential government of the world; finally, his system destroyed one of the strongest principles of moral responsibility when it granted immortality to the soul only on condition of its losing its personality. Busied with the necessities which are imposed by our human condition, he brought elements which Plato had disregarded into the ideas of virtue and happiness, and seemed to lower the moral ideal. In reality he brought this ideal more within the reach of men,

Socrates.[3]

[1] Athenæus, vi. 63: . . . . κοὐκ ἔχω μάχεσθαι.

[2] Cf. Ravaisson, *Métaphysique d'Aristote*, and Zeller, *Philosophie des Grecs*, vol. i. p. lxiii. of the *Introduction* by M. Boutroux.

[3] Cornelian of the *Cabinet de France*, No. 2038 of the catalogue.

and his theory of expediency would have been harmless[1] if he had not deduced from it the lawfulness of slavery.[2] It was not from Aristotle, therefore, that men could ask what they should believe; he only taught what they should know; he was the man of science, as his master, Plato, will be the man of faith. These two mighty minds, who had laid open the twofold road in which we yet walk, are the two immortal adversaries who claim possession of the human mind; but Rome was not destined to know anything of these mighty conflicts.

Plato.[3]

False to the true spirit of their master, the disciples of Aristotle ended by closing heaven and that future full of hope which Plato had opened. Theophrastus, who succeeded him as chief of the Lyceum, inclined in morals towards the doctrines which Aristotle had disavowed;[4] he makes Fortune (*fors*) the mistress of the world, and replaces God in the midst of creation, where Strato, his successor, will not even recognize him. "All divine life," says the latter, "resides in nature, and I have no need of gods to explain the formation of the world. There is nothing which does not result from motion and weight, *naturalibus ponderibus et*

Chance.[5]

[1] The useful was to the peripatetic philosophers identical with the right: *honesta commiscerent cum commodis.* (Cic., *de Nat. deorum*, i. 7.) [This is hardly true.—*Ed.*]

[2] *Polit.*, i. 2; *Mor.*, viii. 2. He even combats (*Polit.*, i. 2) certain philosophers who were maintaining that slavery was a state contrary to nature. Aristotle believed that this institution was useful to the State, to the citizens, whom it freed from mercenary occupations, to the slave even, who, he maintained, never fell into slavery save through the inferiority of his moral nature. [He further maintained radical distinctions of race as its natural basis.—*Ed.*]

[3] Museum of Naples.

Cic., *Acad.*, i. 10: *nervos virtutis incideret.* . . . . Cf. id. *Tuscul.*, v. 9. In his *Characters* [if genuine], not a single virtuous one is to be found.

[5] M. PLAETORI CEST. S.C. Bust of Chance, placed on base bearing the word *Sors*. Reverse of a penny of the Plætorian family.

motibus."[1] This became the doctrine of Epicurus, and is to-day the formula of scientists who dispense with a first cause. Strato was called in the school "the physician"; two others also merit this name, Dicæarchus, who denied the existence of the soul, and Aristoxenus, who held it to be a certain harmony of the body, *intentio quædam corporis.* We thus come upon blank materialism, and Demetrius Phalereus showed at once by his political skill and the depravity of his life[2] that if the Peripatetic school did much for science, it ended by doing too little for morals.

The Greeks of that time having no longer a country nor the two things which had made it, liberty and religion, were teaching in all their schools that the wise man should detach himself from public life and take refuge in a tranquil indifference. It would seem that, fatigued with having for four centuries traversed the world of thought and of history in every direction, they now, like the Italy of Michael Angelo, desired only to rest and sleep.[3]

This teaching was especially the work of Epicurus. This hero disguised as a woman, as Seneca calls him,[4] deserves better than his reputation. But in writing over his school, "Passer-by, thou wilt do well to rest here, pleasure is the supreme good,"[5] he placed his disciples upon a path where the descent was easy, and Pleasure, seated upon a throne attended by all the Virtues,[6] remains a dangerous image. In vain did Epicurus place the

[1] Cic., *de Nat. deor.*, i. 13; *Acad.*, ii. 38.

[2] See in Athenæus, xii. 60, what is said by Duris of Samos, whose testimony on this subject has vainly been called in question.

[3] Beneath the noble statue of Night, whom Michael Angelo represents as sleeping, Strozzi wrote these words, "She lives; if you doubt it, waken her; she will speak." To whom the great sculptor, who was also a great patriot, replied:—

Non veder, non sentir, m'è gran ventura!
Però non mi destar; deh! parla basso.

("To see nothing, to feel nothing, is a great happiness to me. Wherefore do not awaken me I beseech you, speak low!"

[4] *Ep.*, 33.

[5] *Ibid.*, 21.

[6] Cic., *de Finibus*, ii. 21. We must agree upon the meaning of this word *pleasure.* Religion and morality have for their end happiness, εὐδαιμονία. Has not Bossuet himself said, "All the doctrine of morals tends solely to render us happy." (*Méditat. sur l'Év., Les huit béatitudes, X^e Jour.*) But we must examine by what means a system of religion or morality proposes to lead to happiness. The doctrine of morals as taught by Epicurus is summed up in four rules:—

1. To take the pleasure from which no pain results;

pleasures of the soul above those of the body, or aver that the strictly needful was enough for happiness, that, with barley bread and water, a man might be as happy as Jupiter; he had merely founded the theory of selfishness with its disastrous consequences. Religion he destroyed, because the fear of the gods was a constraint; patriotism, devotion to the State, family affection all perished, because they disturbed the tranquillity of the sage.

These doctrines, the natural product of an epoch when so many spirits longed for repose, were the very opposite to all that the Romans of early days held in honour. Two centuries earlier they would have been heard with horror by the inhabitants of the seven hills; but we shall see that there remained but few Romans in Rome, and that these degenerate sons of the great consulars were ready to accept from Epicurus those encouragements to self-indulgence which could be drawn from his teaching, leaving untouched the lessons of his life and his true teaching.[1] His school added one more element of dissolution to those already fermenting in the midst of this society, covering, as it did, with an aspect of philosophy a disorderly or listless life, which had nothing philosophic about it. How many Romans, and I speak of the

Epicurus.

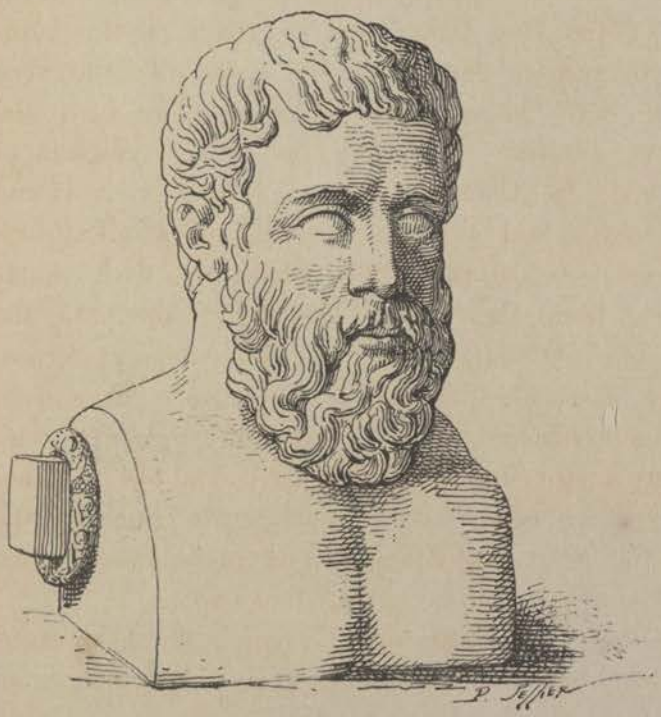
2. To avoid the pain which brings no pleasure;

3. To avoid the gratification which deprives of a greater enjoyment, or causes more pain than pleasure;

4. To accept the pain which delivers from a greater pain, or will result in a great pleasure. The true basis of morals therefore, duty, was absent in this dangerous teaching.

[1] Cic. (*de Fin.*, i. 48) says of Epicurus, "This man whom you represent as the slave of pleasure cries out to you that there is no happiness without wisdom, honour, and virtue."

best among them, will live away from the city, like that friend of Cicero, who laid aside his father's name to call himself "the Athenian," like that Hortensius, so occupied with his fishponds, and that Asinius Pollio, resigned in advance to become the spoil of the conqueror! There are always sages of this kind, who leave to others the struggles of life without believing themselves the epicureans they are, and there were many such at Rome. But the school of pleasure is punished for its enervating doctrine by its sterility; no superior man is ever born of her, and of the school of duty there are many.



Metrodorus.[1]

The downward path which the Greek mind was descending led to the deepest abysses; never was moral destruction so complete.

"We know nothing," said Metrodorus, a disciple of Epicurus; "we do not even know that we know nothing." These negative doctrines, which made a void in the soul, gained a hearing even in the Platonic school. Arcesilas, reviving Pyrrhus's scepticism, established it in the New Academy, and the teaching was carried to Rome by Carneades when he was sent thither as ambassador by Athens (155). "Who," says

[1] Museum of the Louvre, No. 139 of the Clarac catalogue. A double-headed "Hermes" presenting a head of Epicurus on one side and of Metrodorus on the other. The Hermes and busts often had, like this one, projections to be used in lifting them or to hang crowns upon. A Hermes of this kind, found at Rome in 1745, having the names on it, has made known the originals of these two portraits. (Cf. Clarac, *Description des antiques du musée du Louvre*, p. 64.)

Ælian, "will not praise the wisdom of the races we call barbarians? They at least never bring in question whether there are or are not gods; whether they watch over the world or no. Among these nations no one has ever imagined systems like those of Euhemerus and that of Epicurus!"[1]

The doctrines of the Porch, especially since the direction given them by Chrysippus and Panætius, were a re-action in the name of the moral instinct and of common sense.[2] Zeno did not destroy the national religion, all whose divinities were to him manifestations of the One Being, and in virtue of this principle he was able to respect popular beliefs, especially the very lively faith in genii. Of his successor, Cleanthes, we have the magnificent hymn to Jupiter: "Hail to thee, most glorious of immortals, adored under a thousand names, Jupiter eternal and omnipotent, hail to thee, lord of nature; who rulest all things according to thy law! . . . . Jupiter, god whom the dark clouds hide, withdraw men from their fatal ignorance; dissipate the darkness of their souls, O our father, and give them to know the thought whereby thou rulest the world in justice. Then shall we render to thee our homage in return for thy benefits, celebrating forever as we ought the works of thy hands, the common law of all beings!" An echo of this noble strain rings in the soul of the last of the great Antonines, and if, instead of Jupiter, we read Jehovah, the prayer will be a Christian one.

At Rome, says Hegel, Stoicism was at home. We have seen, in fact, in more than one Roman of the early days, the Stoic virtues which were naturally developed in this hard and energetic race. Under the empire we shall see them again. But in the last century of the Republic the austere faith of the Porch gained but a few superior minds; men were more ready to listen to the voices which cried, "Doubt all things and believe only in pleasure."

Apart from philosophy the human mind had opened other paths for itself. Under the powerful impulse given by Aristotle, the sciences of observation had made great progress; men knew

[1] *Hist. Var.*, ii. 31.
[2] Cic., *Acad.*, i. 2, iv. 6.

more and knew more accurately. Ambitious minds went in search of adventure. In the school of Epicurus men believed that they knew how the world was made; a little later Cicero ridicules those persons who "when they speak of the universe have the air of men just returned from an assembly of the gods." These audacities sometimes hit upon truths, and germs of theories at the present day accepted may be found in the writings of those times—thus the principle of the conservation of force, the foundation of modern physics, of which Epicurus reasons almost as well as Leibnitz; and this other, that everything suffers transformation, nothing perishes; also the molecular theory, the negation of spontaneous generation, and the assertion that all bodies fall with equal rapidity in a vacuum.[1]

Unhappily these germs were not developed because the scientists of that time were mere philosophers; they had the intuitions of genius, but they guessed and did not demonstrate. They lacked the experimental method, without which all science of nature is impossible, and their systems were logical constructions, which logic overthrew, setting out from different *a priori* premises. In those sciences, on the contrary, which proceed from immutable axioms, geometry, mechanics, and astronomy, Greece had produced Euclid, Archimedes, and Hipparchus, three men whom the history of physical science places among her greatest names. But the sciences have no moral influence save for the minds capable of seizing the harmonious order of the double *cosmos* in which we live, and of feeling that a man ought to be so much the better as he is the more intelligent. Never had Greece been so learned, and never so debased, a grave warning to those ages in which the physical sciences assert an undivided empire.[2]

In conclusion, we find in certain sciences for which Rome cared nothing, great splendour, but in art and poetry, no mighty inspiration, in eloquence a vain chatter of words and images (the rhetoricians), in religion, habits but no faith, in philosophy the materialism which came from the school of Aristotle, the doubt born of Plato, the atheism of Theodorus,[3] and the

[1] See upon this question Martha, *le Poëme de Lucrèce*, p. 242–317.

[2] Montaigne (i. 24): *Je treuve Rome plus vaillante avant qu'elle feust sçavante.*

[3] One of the leaders of the Cyrenaic school, which later melted into that of Epicurus, as the

sensualism of Epicurus, vainly combated by the moral protests of Zeno; and, lastly, in private and in public life the enfeeblement or the total loss of all those virtues which make the man and the citizen. Such were Greece and the East. And now, we say with Cato, Polybius, Livy, Pliny, Justin, and Plutarch, that all this passed into the eternal city. The conquest of Greece by Rome was followed by the conquest of Rome by Greece:[1] *Græcia capta ferum victorem cepit.*

II.—Greek Manners and Oriental Luxury in Rome.

The austerity of the early Romans was due to their poverty rather than to their conscience; two or three generations had sufficed to make of the city which had known nothing but meagre banquets and rustic holidays a city of feasting and pleasure. There was now gluttony and drunkenness and debauchery hitherto unknown. Listen to Polybius, an eye-witness, "Most of the Romans," he says, "live in strange dissipation. The young allow themselves to be carried away in the most shameful excesses. They are given to shows, to feasts, to luxury, and disorder of every kind, which it is too evident they have learned from the Greeks during the war with Perseus.[2] "See this Roman," says Cato; "he descends from his chariot, he pirouettes, he recites buffooneries and jokes and vile stories, then sings or declaims Greek verses, and then resumes his pirouettes."[3] This imitation of degenerate Greece became a rule in the education of the young

Cynical school ended by being absorbed in that of Zeno, Cic., *de Nat. deor.*, i. 1: . . . . *plerique deos esse dixerunt, dubitare se Protagoras, nullos esse omnino Diagoras Melius et Theodorus Cyrenæus putaverunt.*

[1] Plut., *Cat.*, 6. Justin says (xxxvi. 4): *Asia, Romanorum facta, cum opibus suis vitia quoque Romam transmisit.* Cicero (*de Orat.*, iii. 33): *politissimam doctrinam transmarinam atque adventitiam;* and Horace (*Epist.*, II. i. 156) adds:—

et artes
Intulit agresti Latio . . . .
. . . . post Punica bella quietus quærere cœpit
Quid Sophocles et Thespis et Æschylus utile ferrent

[2] Polybius, xxxii. 11: . . . . *alii in meritorios pueros, alii in meretrices effusi.* He adds: *πολλοὺς ἐρώμενον ἠγορακέναι ταλάντου.*

[3] Fragment of Cato appended to the translation of Fronto by M. Cassan.

nobility. "When I entered one of the schools to which the nobles send their sons," cries Scipio Æmilianus, "great gods! I found there more than five hundred young girls and lads who were receiving among actors and infamous persons lessons on the lyre, in singing, in posturing, and I saw a child of twelve, the son of a candidate for office, executing a dance worthy of the most licentious slave." [1]

Greek vices, hitherto unknown in Rome, now became naturalized there. Yet Roman sobriety gave way slowly, and the law punished with death an outrage of this kind committed upon a citizen.[2] But the slave had no protection against his master's brutality, and we shall shortly see how greatly war had increased the number of these unfortunate persons. Now at Rome, as everywhere, slavery was a very active cause of corruption. Some slaves remained in the master's house and often drew profit from his vices; others laboured outside for his benefit, and in employments that were not always honourable. The freedwomen,[3] who had gained their liberty by subservience to their master's vices, crowded the houses of ill-repute, and when they fell victims to their debauchery, the master legally inherited their property. In and about these houses is laid the scenes of almost all the comedies of Plautus and of Terence. Women of free birth imitated this vicious life, we know, for in the year 114, to bring back modesty,

[1] Macr., *Saturn.*, ii. 10. The verses of Sotades fortunately are lost, but not the *Epigrams* of Strato.

[2] Val. Max., VI. i. 5, 7, 9–12.

[3] Eucharis, enfranchised by a lady of the Licinian family, died at the age of fourteen; her portrait, made in the sixteenth century by Fulvio Orsini from a marble original now lost or destroyed, represents her as three times that age. We give the inscription that the father caused to be engraved upon her tomb, calling attention to the fact that these words, *Græca in scæna prima populo apparui*, give reason to believe that Eucharis lived in the time of Nero, who in the year 60 instituted games of this name.

"O thou, who with careless glance, perceivest this house of death, stay thy foot, and read. It is a father's love which has consecrated this monument to the ashes of his daughter!

"Alas! while my youth flourished in the culture of the arts, and my fame was increasing with my years, the fatal hour made haste and deprived me of the breath of life. Skilled in music, brought up, as it were, by the hand of the Muses, I was the ornament of the chorus in the shows given by the nobility; for I was the first to appear in Rome upon the Greek stage, and the cruel Parcæ have plunged me into the tomb. The affection of my mistress, love, praise, beauty, all are silent upon my funeral pyre and swallowed up by death. I leave tears only to my father, whom I have preceded to the tomb. My fourteen years are bound in chains with me in Pluto's eternal dwelling. In departing, wish, I pray you, that the earth lie lightly on my ashes." (Visconti, *Iconogr. gr.*, t. i. p. 181: Orelli, No. 2602.)

P. Sellier, del. Imp. Fraillery.

DANCING GIRLS

From a Pompeian Painting

Temple of Juno Matuta (restoration of M. Lefuel.)

the senate ordered the construction of a temple to Venus *Verticordia*, the Venus who turns hearts to virtue![1] But this new Venus was less powerful than she who presided over unchaste loves. The matrons were no more successful against her fatal influence when they buffeted in the temple of Juno Matuta[2] at the feast of the *Matralia*, a female freedwoman representing the whole class dangerous to conjugal fidelity.[3]

An *Atilian* law belonging to this epoch recognizes in the urban prætor and a majority of the college of tribunes the right of assigning a guardian to a woman having none. This was by way of protection to her interests and also of discipline for her conduct.[4] Another, in the year 204, rendered squandering difficult by submitting it to public formalities,[5] which it was not agreeable to fulfil when a courtesan was to profit by these gifts at the expense of the family of the giver. Finally, it was forbidden by the Voconian law (169) to any one registered as possessor of 100,000 *ases* to make a woman his heir.[6] These attempts were all in vain. Courtesans became daily more numerous, and concubines obtained at last, in the time of Augustus, a legal recognition to their union.

Another scourge did perhaps more harm, because it increased the former. "The army of Manlius returning from Asia imported foreign luxury into the city. These men first brought to Rome gilded couches, rich tapestry, with hangings, and other works of the loom. At entertainments likewise were introduced female players on the harp and timbrel, with buffoons for the diversion of the guests. Their meals also began to be prepared with greater care and cost, while the cook, whom the ancients considered as the meanest of their slaves, became highly valuable, and a servile office

[1] Ov., *Fast.*, iv. 160; Val. Max., VIII. xv. 12.

[2] The cut represents the restoration of this temple by M. Lefuel. The site of the temple of Juno Matuta is near the church of San Nicolo in Carcere Tulliano.

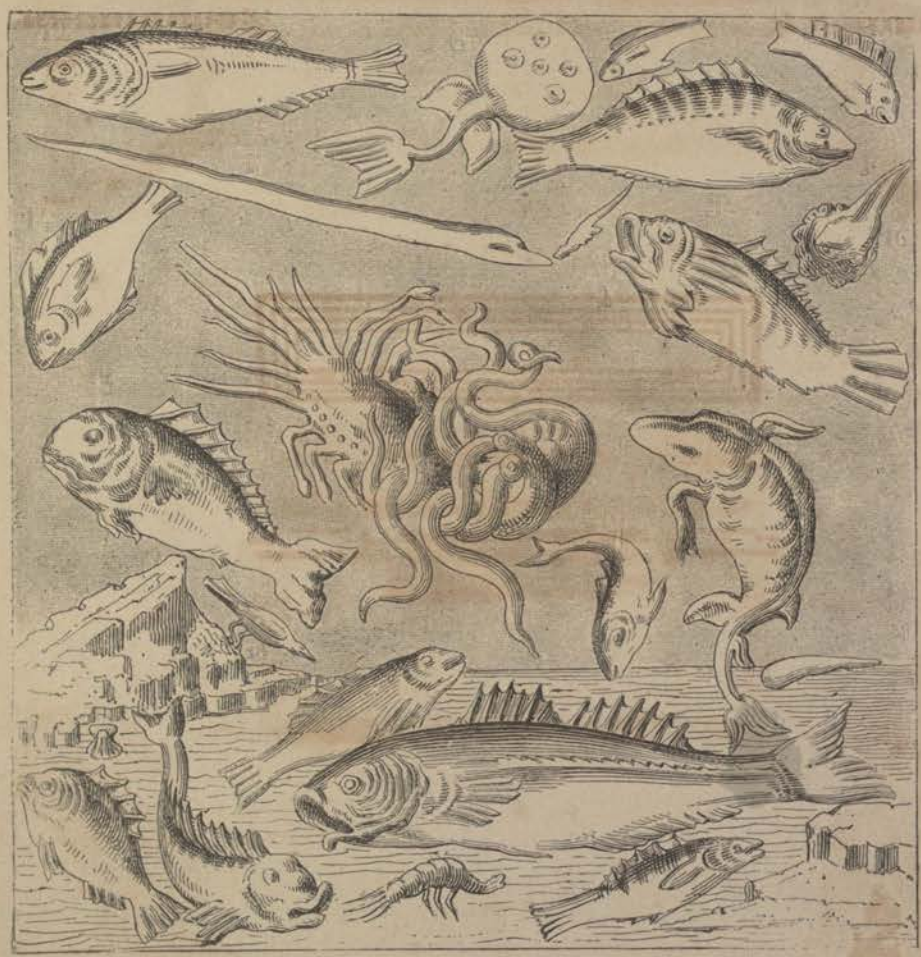
[3] Plut., *Quest. Rom.*, No. 16.

[4] Ulpian, *Fragm.*, xi. 18. He says in § 1: *Tutores constituuntur . . . . feminis tam impuberibus quam puberibus et propter sexus infirmitatem et propter forensium rerum ignorantiam.* This was the *tutor Dativus* rendered necessary by the disorganization of the *gentes*.

[5] *Lex Cincia* or *muneralis*. It treated also of honoraria of advocates, who were not to receive from their clients. (Cf. Cic., *de Orat.*, ii. 71; Tac., *Ann.*, xi. 5.)

[6] Gaius, *Inst.*, ii. 274: . . . . *neve virgo, neve mulier.* Cf. Cic., *II in Verr.*, i. 41, 42.

began to be regarded as an art."[1] Then was seen a young and handsome slave costing more than a fertile field, and a few fishes than a yoke of oxen.[2] We have not yet come to the time of Apicius, and yet the most successful enterprises were those which



Mediterranean Fish, from a Pompeian Mosaic.[3]

undertook to provide the tables of the rich and satisfy their capricious desires.[4] The great even found distinction in inventing new dishes; Hortensius boasted of being the first to have peacocks

[1] Livy, xxxix. 6, and Diod., xxvii. 3. The price of a good cook rose to four talents; for two, Cæsar redeemed his life from Sylla's assassins. (Cf. Montesq., *Esprit des Lois*, vii. 2.)

[2] Polybius, xxxi. 18.

[3] Niccolini, t. ii., "House of the Faun," pl. 2.

[4] Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, x. 23, 27.

P. Sellier, del. Imp. Fraillery.

BRONZE FURNITURE (COUCH)

From Pompeii (after Nicolini).

served at table; Metellus Scipio, a consul, and Scius, a rich knight, disputed for the honour of having invented the *foies gras*.[1] Formerly all the senators had in common one silver service, which they used in rotation when they entertained foreign ambassadors.[2] Now some of them had as much as 1,000 pounds weight of plate, and a little later Livius Drusus had 10,000 pounds.[3] They required for their houses and villas, ivory, precious woods, African marble, and the like.[4] In 131 a certain Metellus built a temple entirely of marble, for these nobles disposed of royal wealth.[5]

In twelve years the war indemnity levied upon Carthage, Antiochus, and the Ætolians had amounted to nearly £6,000,000. The gold, silver, and bronze borne by the generals in their triumphs represented as much more.[6] These £12,000,000 will be easily doubled if we add all the plunder that was taken by the officers and the soldiers,[7] the sums distributed to the legionaries,[8] and the valuables, furniture, stuffs, silver ware, bronzes brought to Europe from the depths of Asia, for nothing escaped the rapacity of the Romans. L. Scipio exhibited at his triumph 1,231 elephants' tusks; Flamininus and Fulvius more than 500 marble and bronze statues,[9] massive bucklers of gold and silver, and chased vases. Acilius even carried off the wardrobe of Antiochus, Manlius his small

[1] Varro, *de Re rust.*, iii. 11, 15; Colum., viii. 10, 6.

[2] Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xxxiii. 11.

[3] Vell. Pat., i. 21.

[4] Vell. Pat., i. 12, 14.

[5] *Ad paucos homines omnes omnium nationum pecunias pervenisse.* (Cic., *II in Verr., de Supp.*, 48.

[6] This statement is derived from the last fifteen books of Livy, and includes the sums directly deposited in the treasury or borne in the triumphs of these twelve years. The figures probably are not absolutely exact, but the sums were certainly enormous. Carthage paid 10,000 talents, Antiochus 15,000, the Ætolians 500, Ariarathus 300, Philip 1,000, Nabis 500, in all, 27,300 talents. M. Macé (*Lois agraires*, p. 26) has made an estimate for the forty years, 208–167, which reaches nearly £40,000,000. Mengotti (*Del Commercio de' Romani*) has two chapters on this subject: *Prede immense de' Romani.*

[7] See p. 231, the condemnation of Acilius Glabrio. The Scipios were accused of peculation, and Manlius was threatened with prosecution.

[8] C. Cornelius gave his soldiers 70 *ases* apiece, Marcellus 80, Lentulus 120, Flamininus 250, Cato 270, Scipio 400, Manlius Vulso 420, Paulus Æmilius 200 denarii in Epirus and 100 after his triumph, Lucullus 950 drachmæ (Plut., *Lucullus*, 54), Pompeius more than 1,500. (Plutarch, *Pomp.*, 47.) The centurions had twice as much as the legionaries, and the horsemen three times as much. (Livy, *passim.*)

[9] Livy, xxxiv. 52. Polybius (xxii. 13) speaks of a crown of 150 talents offered by the Ætolians to Fulvius, and Josephus of another weighing 4,000 gold pieces given to Pompeius by a king of Egypt. (*Ant. Jud.*, xiv. 5.)

tables and side-boards.[1] In Ambracia, once the residence of the kings of Epirus, Fulvius left nothing but the bare walls, *parietes postesque nudatos*.[2]

The years which followed were no less productive. From one campaign Paulus Æmilius brought back nearly £2,000,000.[3] Then came the wealth of Corinth and of Carthage and the treasures of Attalus. According to the Capitoline Fasti there were in 283 years

Silver Cup.[4]

181 triumphs, or nearly one every two years. The principal interest of this celebration was the exhibition of the booty. It was not allowed to a proconsul to return with empty hands, though he

[1] *Monopodia et abacos.* (Livy, xxxix. 6.) Polybius blames this pillage severely (ix. 10).

[2] Livy, xxxviii. 43. This Fulvius Nobilior, who had distinguished himself in Spain, gave while censor in 175 a great example of severity. He expelled from the senate his brother Fulvius because the latter had, without order of the consul, abandoned a cohort of the legion of which he was tribune. (Val. Max., II. vii. 5.)

[3] *Unius imperatoris præda finem attulit tributorum*, says Cicero strikingly. (*Off.*, ii. 21.) It was customary, however, still to pay the twentieth of the price of enfranchised slaves; customs and port dues were not suppressed until the year 62 or 61 by the tribune Metellus Nepos. This tribute was re-established under the consulate of Hirtius and Pansa in 43.

[4] *Cabinet de France*, No. 2807 and 2808.

had been making war upon the poorest of men, upon those intractable tribes from whom he could not even make prisoners that might be sold as slaves. There was no profit so small that the Romans disdained it; in 197 Cethegus deposited in the treasury 79,000 denarii and Minucius 53,000,[1] which they had extorted, one from the Insubri, the other from the Ligurians.

To these revenues arising from the plunder of the world must be added the gifts made willingly, it was said, by the cities and provinces. The Ætolians offered Fulvius a gold crown of 150 talents; a king of Egypt sent one to Pompeius which weighed 4,000 gold pieces; and there was no city favoured by exemption from tribute, no people declared free who did not feel itself obliged to offer to a victorious proconsul one of these crowns, whose weight was measured by the servility of the giver. At his triumph Manlius carried 200 of them.[2] As the republican usage of largesses to the soldiers prepared the way for the imperial usage of *donativa* to the legions, so these gold crowns of the proconsuls became the *aurum coronarium* of the emperors, a tax which European royalty inherited under the title of "gift of happy accession." The State, for its part, received every year the tributes of the provinces, the product of the enfranchisement of slaves, the revenue from the public domain, from customs and from the mines, which latter was very considerable, that of Carthagena furnishing an amount equal to 25,000 drachmæ daily.[3]

What was to be done with all this gold? Public works consumed part of it; the gods had a share, which was laid up in the temples against public emergency;[4] the people also claimed their share. The idle were numerous; above, there was too much wealth, below too much poverty. To occupy them and amuse them

[1] [The denarius, a Roman penny, was less than a franc in intrinsic value.—*Ed.*]

[2] Livy, xxxix. Cf. Festus, s.v. *Triumphales coronæ.* The governors even who had not fought required them. (Cic., *in Pis.*, 37.)

[3] Polybius, xxxiv. 14. To the taxes regularly paid are to be added the special tribute of the *ærarii* and that of the *orbi* and of the *viduæ* for the *æs hordiarum* of the *equites eque publico*, that is to say, for the support of the horses furnished by the State to the cavalry.

[4] This usage lasted as long as pagan Rome. Aurelian consecrated in the temples a grant of the spoils of Palmyra. Recently has been found in Cyprus a treasure hidden in a chamber several meters below the mosaic floor of a temple, which the heathen priests had been prevented from carrying away by the sudden attack of the persecution to which they in their turn had been subjected by the Christians.

public fêtes were given incessantly, some still of a serious character, others in which license was a part of worship; in the circus were countless chariot and horse-races and coursing of hares and foxes. But these amusements of the good old times seemed no longer worthy of the grandeur of Rome. Men who had run the world over sword in hand, killing and pillaging, had need of keener excitements and did not seek them from Greece, still gracious and graceful even in her decline, who would have for her fêtes only songs and garlands and beautiful dancing girls—all the splendours of luxury and of nature, but no bloodshed. The Roman had shed so much blood, however, that he loved to see it flow, even in his pleasures. In this way it came about that the great carnivora from Africa began to appear in Rome, lions and panthers who were let loose upon each other, and soon let loose upon human prey;[1] and this spectacle of living flesh torn, of limbs crushed by wild beasts, caused such a thrill of delight through the amphitheatre, that to satiate the eyes of the public a new kind of punishment was devised, and the condemned criminal was thrown to wild beasts in the arena.

Ennius says: "It is by the virtues and the men of ancient days that the Republic is preserved."

Moribus antiquis stat res romana vireisque.

This theme of the old poet has been adopted by those who do not see that the renewal of all things is the world's law, and that the life of nations, as of individuals, is a perpetual 'becoming.' How many are the declamations against the present as compared with the past, against luxury and the perils hidden under sumptuous carpets, expensive vases, and all beautiful useless things! We will not renew the old complaint made under this head against the Roman nation; but we will unite with the wisdom of all nations in saying, that wealth which is not the fruit of labour and its kindred virtues profits not to its possessor; that an ill-acquired fortune goes as it came, leaving much moral ruin behind it; and we will add, with the experience of political

[1] In 186, the first *venatio* of lions and panthers was given by M. Fulvius. (Livy, xxxix. 22.) In 168 were seen at the *ludi circenses* sixty-three panthers, forty bears and elephants. From this time on, the curule ædiles were obliged to furnish wild beasts in the shows that they offered to the people.

economists, that gold is like the water of a river: if it comes with sudden overflow and inundation, it devastates; if it comes through a thousand channels slowly circulating, it brings life everywhere. Europe, in this second half of the nineteenth century, has seen such an inundation of gold from American and Australian mines. But this enormous increase of capital produced by labour has served to refit all its industrial apparatus, and there has resulted a vast addition to public wealth and individual comfort. But it was by war, by pillage and robbery that Rome passed suddenly from poverty to opulence, and the conquered gold served only to increase the sterile luxury of those who possessed it. We can, therefore, easily picture to ourselves the disturbance caused by this sudden change;[1] morals could not stand against it and the contagion of example, the facility of finding new pleasures, rapidly carried corruption into the larger number of the old Roman families. "After the conquest of Macedon," says Polybius, "men believed themselves able to enjoy in all security the empire of the world and the spoils thereof."[2]

We must, therefore, accept as historic fact these words of Juvenal: "You ask whence arise our disorders? An humble life in other days preserved the innocence of the Latin women. Protracted vigils, hands hardened by toil, Hannibal at the gates of Rome and Roman citizens in arms upon her walls guarded from vice the modest dwellings of our fathers. Now we endure the evils of a long peace; luxury has fallen upon us more formidable than the sword, and the conquered world has avenged itself upon us by the gift of its vices.[3] Since Rome has lost her noble poverty, Sybaris and Rhodes, Miletus and Tarentum, crowned with roses and scented with perfumes, have entered within our walls."[4]

This plague, corrupting the high society of Rome to its very core, lasted two centuries and a half, from Paulus Æmilius to Vespasian. We shall see that from five to six generations of profligates were needed to waste the spoils of conquest, to satiate the thirst

[1] See the sketch of these disorders given by Diodorus (xxxvii. 3), and what is said by Velleius Paterculus (i. 11), Valerius Maximus (ix. 1), Sallust, and others.

[2] Polybius, xxxii. 11.

[3] Pliny (*Hist. Nat.*, v. 7; xxxiii. 11) and Tacitus (*Ann.*, iii. 53) say the same.

[4] *Sat.*, vi. 286–297.

for pleasure, and to wear out that senatorial aristocracy which, near the close of the first century of the Christian era, came to be replaced in the government by a provincial aristocracy of better stamp. In his prologue to the *Trinummus*, Plautus represents Indigence as the daughter of Luxury. Let a century pass, and we shall see these nobles as mendicants in the palace of Augustus and Tiberius; a hundred more, and they will have disappeared.

Some of the old Romans made a vain effort to stay this contagion. In 204, seven senators were degraded from their position by the censors; seven also by Cato; nine in 174, and a still

Marble Lion found at Miletus.[1]

larger number in 164.[2] But the censorship itself became the reward of intrigue. Valerius Messala, formerly *noted*, obtained the office in 154. From that time all disorders seemed authorized, and until the year 116 there was not a single erasure from the list of the senate. That year, however, Metellus at one blow removed thirty-two senators.[3] Among those who were expelled in 174, was a former prætor, and an acting prætor, the son of Scipio Africanus. A Fabius Maximus was leading so scandalous a life, that the prætor Pompeius interfered and put him under a guardian.

The most illustrious personages disgraced themselves with a

[1] Found in the necropolis at Miletus in excavations made at the expense of M. de Rothschild by MM. O. Rayet and Alb. Thomas (*Milet et le golfe latmique*, vol. i., pl. 22).

[2] Val. Max., iii. 5; Livy, xlv. 15.

[3] Livy, *Epit.*, lxii.

scandalous shamelessness. In 181, the censor Lepidus, a prince of the senate, and also pontifex Maximus, employed the money of the public treasury in constructing a dike at Terracina to preserve his lands from inundation. Another censor, Fulvius, carried off the marble tiles from the sanctuary of the Lacinian Juno to cover a temple which he was building at Rome. Public indignation having forced the senate to condemn this sacrilege, the censor contented himself with carrying the tiles back into the court of the temple. A former consul, Acilius Glabrio, was soliciting the censorship, when he was accused of peculation. Cato swore that there were certain vases of gold and silver which he had seen in the camp of Antiochus that were not produced in the triumph, and the candidate for the censorship was condemned to a fine of 100,000 *ases*. This may have been the revenge of the nobles upon a parvenu,[1] but these peculations were only too frequent. A commissioner of the senate, Decimus, being sent into Illyria, allowed himself to be bought over by the king of that country to make a favourable report.[2] In 141, a Metellus was recalled from Spain, where the war at this moment promised fame and booty; in his rage the general disorganized the army, destroyed the provisions, and killed the elephants. Others, again, refused the provinces assigned them, because they had no hope of gaining anything from them.[3] In Greece, Licinius was turning everything to his own profit, selling even furloughs to his soldiers, trafficking in the honour of his army and the safety of the province. A Fulvius Nobilior disbanded by one order an entire legion. Two consuls were disputing for a province. "I think," said Scipio Æmilianus, "we ought to exclude both; for one has nothing and the other has never enough." From the time of Plautus, Roman faith had come into discredit. "If Jupiter," says the poet, "should open his temple to perjurers, there would not be room enough for them in the Capitol."[4] At a later period Laberius says in the open theatre: "What is an oath? It is a plaster to heal debts."

The censors and ædiles, charged with the care of the public morals, having no means of action at their disposal, only from

[1] Livy, xxxviii. 48. [2] Livy, xlii. 45. [3] Livy, xli. 15.
[4] *Curcul.*, 276; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, ii. 5.

time to time made an example which however gave no general alarm. In other days there had not been need of incessant watchfulness. In the first place the old Latin religion did not legalize disorder, and secondly, in these little States where each lived under the eyes of all,[1] a chaste and laborious life, frugality, disinterestedness, appeared virtues necessary to the State, and the citizens themselves kept watch over their own morals.[2] But in this immense Rome, the capital and the sewer of the world, how many vices must have satisfied themselves openly! how many attempts against morals have been committed with impunity! The absolute inefficiency of the administration of public morals and general security was at Rome one of the causes which precipitated the destruction of the Republic. All excesses being permitted, numberless people gave way to them, and when there is no virtue left in social, there is none in political life.

Montesquieu says, and human reason admits the truth of his remark, that a Republic where the executive is always feeble, cannot endure without morality, which is the self-applied curb of liberty. The governing class at Rome having it no longer, and that which was called the people not possessing it, all the ties which once held society together were relaxed, and religion, the strongest of all, was soon to break.

III.—Decline of National Religion at Rome.

Philosophy had by no means caused these innovations, but in many of her schools had furnished reasons for regarding them as legitimate. The old Romans held her responsible for the changes which were produced by "historic fatality." "As for me," said Pacuvius, "I hate those men who pass their time in philosophizing, not in acting." This was the protest of the Roman conscience.

[1] The Orchian law, as late as 198, ordered that during late dinner, which was the principal meal of the day, the doors of houses should stand open, so that all might see if the directions of the sumptuary laws were observed. (Macr., *Sat.*, ii. 13.) The Romans, says Plutarch (*Cat.*, 23), did not believe that there should be left to each man liberty to marry, to rear children, to choose his method of life, to make banquets, in a word to follow his own tastes and inclinations without regard to the judgment and observation of any, etc.

[2] Aulus Gellius, xiii. 8.

Cato, who regarded Socrates as a babbler, and would have condemned him over again for seeking to modify the manners and customs of his fathers, said to his son: "Remember this and bear it in mind as the utterance of an oracle, when this race shall have invaded us with literature Rome will be lost." He was certainly one of the authors of the famous decree of 161 which expelled philosophy.[1] Six years later, the exile returned.

The Orator.[2]

The senate desired to keep peace among its subjects; the Athenians having pillaged the territory of a Bœotian city, the affair was referred to the arbitration of Sicyon, and Athens was condemned to an enormous fine of 500 talents, which she was unable to pay. She solicited an abatement from the senate, and in order to obtain it, sent as ambassadors to Rome the chiefs of the Porch, the Lyceum, and the Academy, or, as Pliny says, "the princes

[1] Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Att.*, xv. 2.

[2] Museum of the Louvre, No. 712 of the Clarac catalogue. Cf. Fröhner, *Notice de la sculpture antique du musée national du Louvre*, p. 213–215. In this statue, one of the best preserved that we have, has been seen by turns Mercury, Germanicus, Flamininus, etc. Upon the shell of a tortoise, an animal consecrated to Mercury, an inscription in characters of the last century of the Republic gives us the sculptor's name, Cleomenes, son of Cleomenes the Athenian. The Venus de Medici is the work of Cleomenes, son of Apollodorus, hence it has been supposed one was the father of the other. By common consent, the statue is now called the Orator; it was bought by Louis XIV. through the agency of Poussin.

of wisdom." The three philosophers were—Diogenes the Stoic, Critolaus the Peripatetic, and Carneades [of the new Academy], a great dialectician and orator, to whom nature had given "all the weapons of strength and grace" (153). While awaiting the discussion of the affair, the three envoys gave public lessons. The Roman youth crowded about them surprised and charmed at this new world which the Greeks unveiled to them. At the same time, with the Romans, a people of action, Greek philosophy could succeed only by its direct influence upon ideas which were limited, and morals which were already becoming corrupt. For them, Aristotle was too abstract, Plato too much an enthusiast; indifferent to the atoms of Epicurus as to the *catalepsies* of Zeno, they left dogmas and concerned themselves only with results. Critolaus might indeed say to them: "The object of life is the perfect exercise of reason;" and Diogenes: "Virtue is the only good, vice the only evil;" they admired without really comprehending this austere morality and philosophy which sought to carry the idea of absolute right into matters where the old Latin spirit recognized only practical wisdom, that is to say, for the individual, a consideration of his personal interest, for the State, that of the public advantage. But they listened attentively to the founder of the third academy, Carneades, who undermined all schools of philosophy by showing their weak side; who destroyed religion by pointing out that the great proof of the existence of the gods, namely, the general consent of mankind, had been acquired by a thousand foolish mistakes;—the worship of the gods, by proving that there was no more reason for accepting one divinity than another;—the oracles, by opposing to them human freedom; and morality, by victoriously supporting contradictory cases.

Thus, trifling with the most formidable questions, Carneades exhibited his brilliant talents before a Roman audience, and gained a popularity useful for his embassy. His famous discourse on political sagacity was an indirect defence of Athens, which, in pillaging Oropus, had committed an expedient but unjust act, as Rome had done so many times. It has been said that this school, of which Cicero was the pupil, did not merit all the discredit into which it has fallen, and this dangerous sentence of the great orator has been quoted: "To plead all that can be said, for and

against, is the surest method of arriving at the truth." To plead it, no; to seek it, yes; for doubt and the examination of all sides of a question are *par excellence* the scientific method, that which eliminates false hypotheses, and leaves only true theories. Still further, it is essential that from these controversies which make so many ruins something should remain intact like the lamps beneath the broken pitchers of Gideon. But how often is the mind drawn in divers directions, and disturbed by subtle discussions, when the conscience wavers, and the belief in abstract right is lost. With this scepticism taught by the new Academy, the minds of men lost those firm principles so necessary for living an honourable life. Not denying, therefore, that [even in dogma] the chemical changes of death may be those also of a new life springing from it, I can understand the alarm which Cato, that resolute defender of the past, felt at this destructive logic, which, to men weary of their superstition and of the darkness in which they had lived, appeared a weapon for combat and deliverance.

After the great success of Carneades, Cato adjured the senate to answer these philosophers as quickly as possible, and send them back to their own country. "They persuade men," he said, "to believe whatever they will, and truth and falsehood are so blended in their arguments,[1] that no one can separate the two. Let them go and teach the youth of Greece; let us keep our children submissive, as heretofore, to laws and magistrates." But it was too late; the initiation had been effected, and Carneades, in leaving Rome, left behind him a fatal curiosity, that philosophy of doubt which two centuries later disquieted Cicero, even when he was speaking no longer as a philosopher, but as a statesman. "In respect to the new Academy," he said, "I seek not to challenge it, and I implore its silence; for, if it should fall upon these principles which we are now establishing, it would soon leave nothing but ruins." [2]

The influence of Carneades was maintained by his successor Clitomachus, who, if he did not teach in Rome, at least propagated scepticism there by his writings, one of which he

[1] Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, vii. 30.

[2] Cic., *de Leg.*, i. 13: *Nimias edet ruinas: quam quidem ego placare cupio, submovere non audeo.*

inscribed to the poet Lucilius, and another to the consul Censorinus.[1]

The invasion was rapid. Less than two generations after the senatus-consultum had decreed, in that imperative fashion the senate was wont to employ: "Let these people depart from Rome; *uti Romæ ne essent*," Pompeius went to Rhodes to salute the philosopher Posidonius, and lowered the consular emblems before science, forbidding his lictors to strike, as was the custom, at the door of the house.[2]

The impulse towards this new way was, however, independent of Carneades and of all schools of philosophy. The enfeebling of the national religion dates from an early day. When any misfortune, pestilence or famine, fire or military disaster fell upon the city, the Romans were more exasperated at the evil which their gods had not prevented, than grateful for the victories in which they were well aware that the courage of their soldiers had the chief part, and they came to feel that these protectors of their ancestors had grown powerless. In vain during the disastrous times of the second Punic war had they multiplied their temples and sacrifices, their expiations and sacred games, heaven had long remained deaf to their supplications, and they had taken refuge in foreign superstitions. Then, Hannibal being dead and the danger past, the credit of these divinities of the conquered had in its turn diminished, at least among the nobles, for whom Ennius, a dependent of Cato, had translated into Latin the work of Euhemerus.[3] This traveller asserted that he had seen in an island off the coast of Arabia a golden column, upon which were inscribed the actions and the death of Saturn, Jupiter and other gods, former kings of the country, deified by popular credulity. To people Olympus with deified men was to destroy at one blow all the heathen religions. Ennius was no more respectful towards the priests than towards their gods. His sarcasms, which professed to be aimed only at charlatans, struck higher. "I despise," he says, "the auguries of the country of the Marsi as

[1] Cic., *Acad.*, ii. 31, 32.

[2] Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, vii. 31, on Carneades. (Cf. M. Martha in the *Revue des deux Mondes* for 1868.)

[3] Ἱερὰ ἀναγραφή. Euhemerus was a disciple of Theodorus, surnamed the Atheist. (Diod., v. 44–46.)

well as the fortune-tellers of the village, and the astrologers of the market-place, the prognosticators of Isis, and the interpreters of dreams. They have neither divine art nor human knowledge. They are impudent liars, idlers and fools, or beggars urged by hunger. They know not whither to go, and they assume to lead us; they promise treasures while they beg an obol. Let them raise their obol upon the credit of this promised wealth, and give us what remains." [1]

But we must speak seriously of things which believers hold as serious. That which Ennius despises, and with such good reason, was, nevertheless, the very foundation of the Latin religion, since the ancient Romans considered the signs interpreted by the priests as a divine *revelation* constantly renewed by gods ever present in the midst of their people. For this reason the Roman statesmen, while they left the poets and men of letters at liberty to say whatever they pleased, for their own part carefully supported the ancient institution. "It is not well," said the pontifex Aurelius Cotta, "to deny in public the existence of the gods; but in private it is a different matter;" and he did not hesitate to do so.[2]

Polybius, who was a friend of Cato, the counsellor of Scipio Æmilianus, and the most honest man of his time, being disgusted with the popular religion which had become for some a school of scandal, while it remained for others a rude and gross superstition, banished Providence from his history, and replaced it by a stern sentiment of personal and public duty. He denied that there was suffering reserved for the wicked, but he maintained a severe responsibility to society and to a man's own conscience; finally, with that proud scorn of the crowd so common to superior minds, he regarded a system of worship merely as a useful method of governing and restraining men.[3] When we see Cato, augur and censor, unable to comprehend how two soothsayers could look each

[1] Cic., *de Divin.*, i. 58.

[2] Cic., *de Nat. deor.*, i. 26; ii. 3; and *de Div.*, ii. 24. Cæsar, pontifex Maximus, was an agnostic. [This was very much the attitude of many ecclesiastics in the Renaissance, notably at the court of Leo X.—*Ed.*]

[3] Polybius, vi. 56. To Varro, to the pontifex Scævola, to Cicero himself (Cf. *de Nat. deor.*, and *de Divin., passim*) the old religion was no more than this. We have already seen that Flamininus feared being detained by pretended prodigies.

other in the face without laughing, we are no longer surprised that the government should allow the gods to be insulted with impunity, so long as the magistrates were held in respect.[1]

Clever reasoners, Varro for instance, and the pontifex Scævola,[2] who was consul in 95, escaped from the difficulty by distinguishing many kinds of theologies; that of the poets, at most good for the theatre; that of the philosophers, discussed by reason; that of the State and the people, which the laws were bound to respect and defend. The last, as we have seen,[3] consisted only in dry and empty formalities which touched neither the intellect nor the heart; the second remained inaccessible to the crowd, and brought forth nothing but doubt; the first alone, that of the poets, was dear and vital. But what instruction could be derived from those scandalous imitations of the licentious plays of Athens, where the gods were given up to the ridicule of their worshippers?

Providence.[4]

It was in vain that the philosophers and rhetoricians had been expelled from Rome, their influence remained there, and Greek education taking the place of the Etruscan, spread abroad in families and in the heart of new generations contempt for the old customs and the religion of their forefathers. Besides, decrees of expulsion reached only

[1] St. Augustine, *de Civ. Dei.*, ii. 12: *Poetas Romanos nulli deorum pepercisse.* (Cf. Cic., *de Nat. deor.*, i. 26.)

[2] St. Augustine, *de Civ. Dei.*, vi. 27: *Prima theologia maxime accommodata est ad theatrum secunda ad mundum, tertia ad urbem.*

[3] Vol. i., p. 94, *seq.*

[4] Statue in the Louvre, No. 323 of the Clarac catalogue.

the distinguished masters, and not the obscure crowd gathered in the great city,[1] those *Græculi* who entered everywhere as slaves, as sculptors, painters, teachers, parasites: a crafty and deceitful race greatly in demand for their acuteness of mind and skill in speech.[2] In ancient Greece the education of the young was one of the chief cares of the government;[3] the Romans, with rare exceptions when the magistrates intervened, left this matter to private enterprise. Polybius reproaches them for it, and it appears from a sentence in Plautus what fruits were borne by this liberty: "Am I your slave, or are you mine?" says a scholar to his tutor in the *Bacchides*. Consider also the lamentations of poor Lydus, and his comparison of the new manners with the old.[4] Terence, enumerating the tastes of fashionable young men at random, places philosophers along with horses and hunting-dogs.[5] Meanwhile the most illustrious Romans of the time, the Scipios, Paulus Æmilius, all the nobility and all who strove to copy fine manners, surrounded their children with Greek instructors. But how could conquered men, slaves bought in the market, bring up the sons of the conquerors in the strong virtues of the earlier age? "The Romans," said

Sculptor.[6]

[1] Πολὺ δή τι φῦλον ἀπὸ τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐπιρρέον ὁρῶ κατὰ τὸ παρὸν τῶν τοιούτων ἀνθρώπων. (Polybius, xxxii. 10.)

[2] See Cic., *de Orat.*, i. 22, 51, also the *pro Flacco* and his letters.

[3] Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xxxv. 11. Cf. Suet., *de Ill. gramm.* See the *Éphébie attique* of M. Albert Dumont.

[4] *Bacchides*, 202, 473, *seq.*

[5] . . . . *Aut equos alere aut canes ad venandum, aut ad philosophos.* (*Andr.*, 55.)

[6] From the museum in the *Villa Albani*.

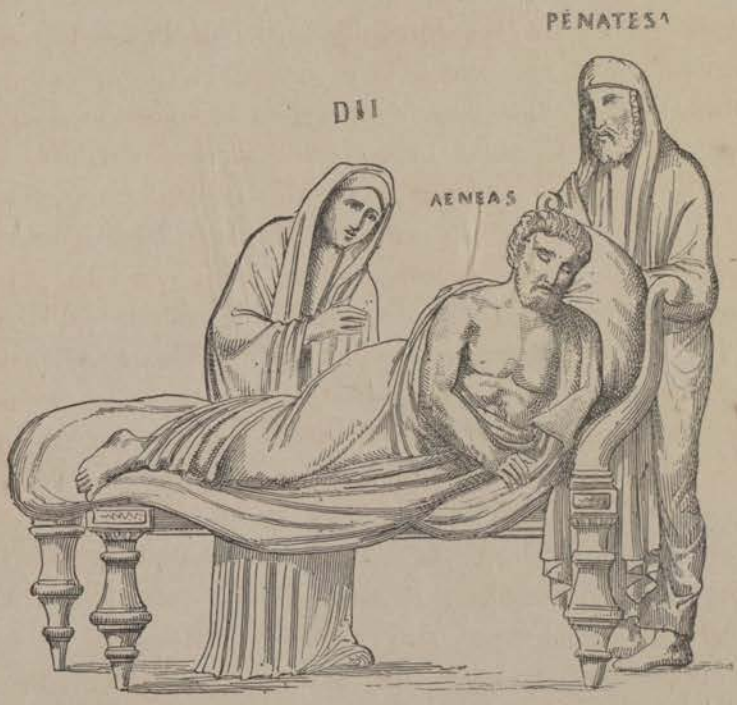
Cicero's father, "are like the Syrian slaves; he who knows Greek best is the worst."[1]

IV.—Increasing Popularity of Oriental Religions.

If we must deplore the degeneracy of morals, and the introduction of new vices into the Roman life, is it right also to regret the work of destruction accomplished in the matter of religious beliefs?[2] In the first place, the decay of the old faith was inevitable, and this alone is a reason for resigning ourselves to it. But, further, the place these errors occupied in men's minds was now ready to be filled by a better idea of divinity, an idea of which Cicero had a glimpse. This death then was but a renewal of life. A certain amount of time must pass, for the doubt which was the herald of a purer faith came as yet but to few, and the old religion had too strong a hold on all the habits of life to be easily wrenched from them. Although Roman polytheism gave very little comfort in this life or hope for another, although it was worn out by hard usage, the crowd could not free themselves from the superstitious fears they had so long entertained. The future was still sought in the entrails of victims, and in the flight of birds, a strange superstition which has not long been extinct, if indeed it be so now, since it yet survives in Greece.[3] Prodigies were still regarded, and must be solemnly expiated upon the altars of the gods; the senators themselves were filled with terror when the consuls made known to them that a five-legged calf had been born; and two men of iron will, Marius and Sylla, were no more than children before omens. One took counsel of a Syrian prophetess named Martha, and an ass seeking to drink, and two scorpions fighting, showed him what he must do; the other had faith in dreams and in amulets. Such are the unbelievers of our day who are afraid of bad luck, and that personage in the play who is frightened at the sound of his own thunder-machine which he has just had mended by the

[1] Cic., *de Orat.*, ii. 66.
[2] Polybius, ix. 10.
[3] Perrot, *Mém. d'archéol.*, p. 388.

blacksmith round the corner. Superstition and free-thinking keep house together in certain minds, as do the two Masters in others. Some, after being sceptical, recover their faith under the stroke of misfortune; this is common to all times. As for the mass of the population, it kept its lares and penates, its rustic gods, and its faith in that Jupiter *optimus maximus* who reigned in the Capitol, and who caused Rome to reign over the world. But many whose religious sentiment was not fully



Penates.[1]

satisfied by the arid formalism of the national religion, sought new heavens, and called down from them foreign gods. Already had Apollo, Æsculapius, Venus Erycina, and the Phrygian Cybele received rights of Roman citizenship,[2] and the old Italian

[1] The penates are represented on coins and medals in different aspects. The Virgil of the Vatican, from which the above representation is taken, has given to the protectors of Æneas a venerable air and the costume of priests and priestesses offering sacrifice, without however, assigning them any names. See, upon these divinities, vol. i., p. 84.

[2] See vol. i., p. 554, *seq.* In the worship of Cybele, the liturgy was altogether Greek (Serv., *in Georg.*, ii. 394); it was nearly the same with the mysteries of Ceres. (Cic., *de Leg.*, ii. 9; *II in Verr.*, v. 72.) The priests of Ceres were generally called from Naples or Velia. (Cic., *pro Balbo*, 24; Val. Max., i. 1.)

divinities had lost their special character, assuming a Greek form and less austere manners. Faunus and Sylvanus had become Pans, Satyrs, and Silenuses. Djanus Djana gave up the double form and Rome retained the huntress Diana. Tages had given place to

Matuta or Leucothea (the dawn).[2]

Mercury, Libitina to Proserpine, Sancus to Hercules. Matuta,

[1] Sylvanus had lost much in the esteem of the higher classes, but this guardian of the house and field (see vol. i., p. 81, and 142) retained the confidence of the poor. The *sanctus sacer* had brotherhoods in all the provinces, *cultores Silvani*; there were some in Lutetia, and some have been found in Macedon. See two curious inscriptions on one of these colleges in Heuzey, *Mission de Macéd.*, p. 71, and in Orelli, 1800.

[2] Roux, *Herculanum et Pompéi*, vol. iv. 3rd series, pl. 39.

the goddess of the morning, had been changed into Leucothea, and Portumnus into Palæmon or Melicertes.

An example will show the effect of this transformation. The ancient Faunus, the revered divinity of fields and flocks,[1] the infallible oracle, revealing the future now by dreams, now by mysterious voices, assumes horns and a goat's tail, and becomes the merry and amorous satyr of Greece, pursuing the nymphs when intoxication did not retard his footsteps.

Satyr.

Following these Greek divinities, the more dangerous gods of the East slipped into the city, as early as 220; Isis and Serapis had temples which the senate ordered to be destroyed.[2]

An attempt was made, even in 181, to establish these innovations by a pious fraud. "Some labourers on the farm of Lucius Petilius, a notary, at the foot of the Janiculum, digging the ground deeper than usual, discovered two stone chests, about eight feet long and four broad. Both the chests had inscriptions in Greek and Latin letters, one signifying that therein was buried Numa Pompilius, the other that therein were contained his books. . . . In the latter were found two bundles, each containing seven books; seven were in Latin, and

[1] Hor., *Carm.*, iii. 18; Virg., *Æn.*, vii. 81; Cic., *de Nat. deor.*, ii. 2; iii. 6.
[2] Val. Max., i. 3.

related to the pontifical law, and seven in Greek, containing philosophy. . . . The prætor, on reading the contents" [of the Latin books], "perceived that most of them had a tendency to

Worship of Isis and Serapis.[1]

undermine the established system of religion,[2] . . . and declared

[1] From a painting in Pompeii. The temple is built near a sacred wood: the statue of Isis stands upon a little column, Egyptian in character; in front, a sphinx with human head seems to represent Serapis-Bacchus or Liber, a priest of whom, carrying a cymbal and the mystic basket, seems to be conversing with the priestess of Isis. (Cf. Roux, *Herculanum et Pompéi*, vol. i. pl. 58.)

[2] *Pleraque dissolvendarum religionum esse.* (Livy, xl. 29.) The same historian asserts that certain of these books appeared to be entirely new: *recentissima specie.* Numa could not

that he was ready to make oath that those books ought not to be read or preserved, and the senate decreed that they should without delay be burned in the comitium," which was done (181).

The Oriental divinities gave a new cast to the religious convictions of men, to whom a very crude form of worship had so long sufficed.[1] Born in the scorching East, these deities required savage rites and pious orgies. Dramatic spectacles, intoxicating ceremonies affected violently the dull Roman mind, excited religious frenzy, and for the first time the Roman felt those transports which, according to the character of the doctrine and the condition of the mind, produce effects diametrically opposite—absolute purity of life or the excess of debauchery sanctified by religious belief. Asiatic slaves, now numerous at Rome, certainly carried on an unnoticed proselytism, as happened later in the beginnings of Christianity. We may clearly indicate by describing the rites of two of these faiths into what new and hitherto untried paths the religious spirit of the Romans had drifted. Lucretius thus pictures the feasts of Cybele, omitting the scandalous details:—

Serapis and Isis.[2]

"The Greek poets when they sing of the earth represent her seated in a chariot drawn by two lions, her brows girt with a mural crown. . . . Mutilated priests accompany her . . . . ; drums resound under their hands; cymbals and trumpets mingle their strident tones with the intoxicating harmonies of the Phrygian flute. . . . Javelins they bear, the weapons of their fury, and the mute image of the goddess traverses the great city without manifesting her silent beneficence. Silver and bronze coins, and flowers strew the route by which the procession moves. The goddess and her priests are, as it were, enveloped in a cloud of roses. Then a troop of armed men with crested heads dance,

have written in Greek, and the prætor of the year 181 could not have understood the Latin of Numa.

[1] See vol. i., p. 94.

[2] Serapis coiffed with the *modius*, and Isis with the lotos flower standing face to face, each bearing ears of corn, symbols of fertility. Reverse of a bronze coin of Antoninus, struck at Alexandria.

leaping in time to the music, while the blood runs from the wounds they give each other."[1]

These strange solemnities made part of the public worship,[2] and a certain decency was observed in them. But the mysteries of Bacchus, carried on secretly, had no such restraints. We give the story nearly in the words of Livy:—

Cybele.[3]

A Greek of mean condition came into Etruria, bringing with him these secret and nocturnal rites. They were at first imparted to but a few, but afterwards communicated to great numbers, both men and women; the infection of this mischief, like the contagion of disease, spread from Etruria to Rome, where the size of the city affording greater room for such villanies and more means of concealment, cloaked it at first; but information of it was at length brought to the consul Postumius in the following manner: Æbutius, whose father had held equestrian rank in the army, was left fatherless, and his guardians dying, he was brought up by his mother, Duronia, and his stepfather, Rutilus. Duronia was entirely under the influence of her husband, and Sempronius having so dealt with his ward's property that he could not give a good account of

[1] *De Nat. rer.*, ii. 601–634.

[2] In 205 a decree of the senate established the worship of Cybele.

[3] Cybele, crowned with towers. Bronze statuette in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 2919.

it, wished to have the young man made away with or bound by some tie to submission. The Bacchanalian rites furnished a way to effect the ruin of the youth. His mother told him that she had made a vow in his behalf during a recent illness that if he should recover she would cause him to be initiated into the Bacchanalian mysteries. This vow she called upon him to fulfil; the young man consented, having no idea of any evil or danger in so doing, and he communicated his intention to a freedwoman named Hispala Fecenia to whom he was attached. Upon hearing this the woman in great terror broke out, "May the gods preserve you from it!" and went on to imprecate vengeance and destruction upon those who had advised him to such a step. The young man informed her that it was his mother who had counselled it with the approbation of his stepfather. "Your stepfather, then," she said, "is eager to destroy you," and being greatly urged, she went on to say, after imploring pardon of the gods and goddesses, if in the excess of her affection for her lover she was about to disclose what ought not to be revealed, that when a slave she had once gone to that place of worship as an attendant upon her mistress, but that since she had obtained her liberty she had never re-visited it, and that she knew it to be a receptacle of all kinds of debaucheries. She entreated the young man to escape the danger, and not plunge himself into a situation where he must suffer and commit all that was infamous.

Upon making known to his mother his determination not to obey her in the affair, Æbutius was at once driven out of the house, and went to his aunt Æbutia, who advised him to reveal to the consul the whole matter.

The consul having satisfied himself that Æbutius had spoken truly, desired his own mother-in-law to send for the freedwoman Hispala. The latter on finding herself summoned to the house of a woman of high rank and respectable character, was much alarmed, and on coming to the door and seeing the lictors in attendance believed herself lost. Both the consul and his mother-in-law, Sulpicia, exerted themselves to reassure her, and she after declaring her dread of offending the gods by betrayal of these secrets, and still more her anxiety lest the men implicated should tear her in pieces when they knew of it, at last consented to speak. The rites at first, she

said, were performed by women, no man being admitted; there were three stated days yearly when persons were initiated, and the ceremonies took place by day. The matrons were appointed priestesses in rotation, and finally one of them, a Campanian woman, had made alterations in all these particulars as if by the direction of the gods. She introduced men into the ceremonies, changing the time from day to night, and instead of three in a year there were now five days of initiation in every month. From the time that the rites were thus changed, there was nothing scandalous that had not been practised among them, to think nothing unlawful being the great maxim of their religion. The men, as if bereft of reason, uttered predictions with frantic contortions of their bodies; the women, clad as Bacchantes, with dishevelled hair, ran down to the Tiber carrying blazing torches, which they dipped into the water and drew them up again still burning, the torches being made with native sulphur and charcoal. Those who shrank back from any crimes were dragged away into caverns under ground and slain, the noise of drums and cymbals and savage yells stifling the cries of the victims. The number of the initiated, she said, was extremely large, making almost a second State in themselves, and many among them were persons of noble families in Rome.

Sarcophagus of Bacchantes.[1]

Having completed her deposition, Hispala fell upon her knees and entreated the consul to send her out of the country into some region where she might live in safety. She was, however, received

[1] This magnificent sarcophagus is at Rome. (Cf. Wey, *Rome*, p. 597.) Bacchus was also a divinity of the dead, θεὸς χθόνιος. (Pausan., viii. 37, § 3; Arnobius, *Adv. gentes*, v. 19.) Hence representations of his worship upon tombs.

instead into the house of Sulpicia, an apartment being given her in the upper storey and the egress to the street walled up, so that there was no way of reaching the rooms except from the inmost court of the house.

Having both his witnesses within reach, Postumius now made a report to the senate, and his words struck terror into the Conscript Fathers, not merely on the public account, lest such assemblies and nightly meetings might be productive of treachery and mischief, but also on account of their own families, lest some of their relations might be involved in this infamous affair. Revolts of slaves had recently taken place in Etruria (196)[1] and in Latium, where Setia and Præneste had narrowly escaped being taken by them,[2] and all the Apulian herdsmen were in tumult, so much so that it became necessary to send against them, a few months after the discovery of the Bacchanalian orgies, an army and a prætor, who put to death 7,000 of them.[3] The senate had never been favourable to secret meetings, and here they had them in Rome at the very gates of the senate house, while all through Italy there was reason to suspect their existence.

The senate voted that thanks should be given to the consul for his extraordinary promptness and discretion in the investigation of the matter. They then ordered the consuls to hold a special inquiry concerning the Bacchanals and their nocturnal orgies; to take the utmost care that no harm should come to the informers, Ælbutius and Fecenia, and to offer rewards for still further information. They ordered that all officers in the Bacchanalian rites, whether men or women, should be sought for not only at Rome, but throughout all the Italian towns, and should be delivered over to the consuls; also that proclamation be made in the city of Rome and through all Italy that no persons initiated in the Bacchanalian rites should presume to come together or assemble on account of those rites or to perform any kind of worship; and, above all, that search should be made for all those assembling for flagitious practices of whatever kind.

The consuls then directed the curule ædiles to search out and arrest all priests and priestesses of Bacchus; they charged the

[1] Livy, xxxiii. 36. [2] Livy, xxxii. 26. [3] Livy, xxxix. 29.

plebeian ædiles to take care that no religious ceremonies should be performed in private; they gave orders to the capital triumvirs to establish posts in all quarters and break up nocturnal gatherings, and five assistants were added to the triumvirs to keep special watch against incendiary attempts upon the buildings of the city.

An assembly of the people was then convoked, and one of the consuls addressed the crowd, giving them some account of what had been done. He recalled to them the edicts of their fathers prohibiting foreign religious rites, banishing strolling sacrificers and soothsayers, searching out and burning books of divination, and abolishing every mode of sacrificing that was not conformable to the Roman practice. The assembly then listened to the reading of the decrees, closing with the edict that no person should buy or sell anything for the purpose of leaving the country, nor receive, conceal, or aid any fugitives.

Great alarm was felt in the city, and the excitement soon spread throughout Italy when letters were sent by the patrons of cities and public guests, with copies of the decree of the senate, of the consul's address, and of the edict, offering rewards to informers, warning offenders to appear within a given time and make their confession, and forbidding all citizens to harbour the accused or to facilitate their flight.

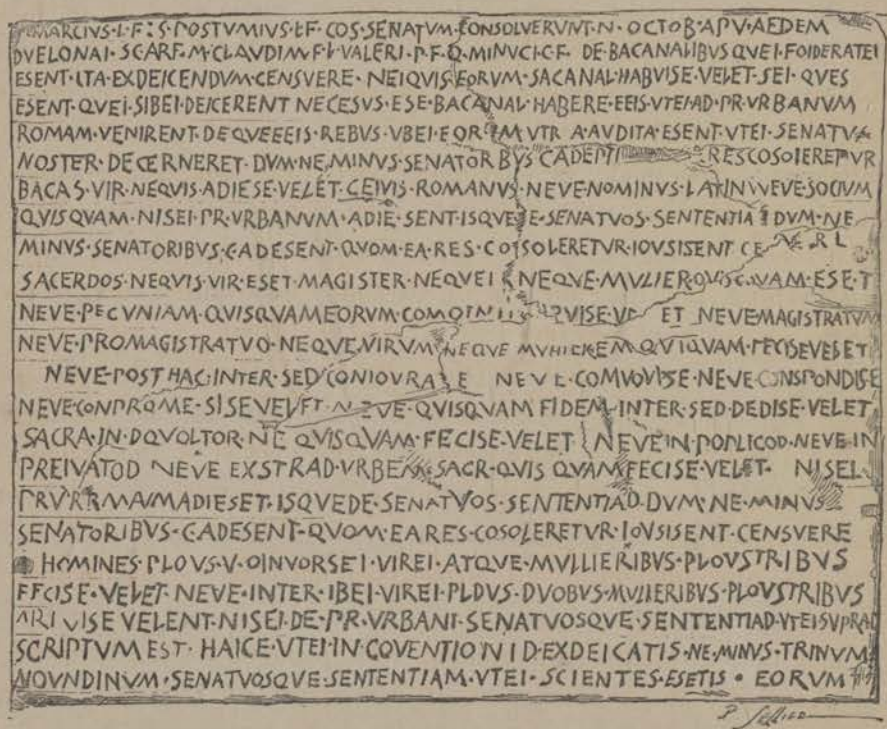
The action of the government was prompt. Guards were at once placed by the triumvirs at all the gates of the city. Many were arrested seeking to escape, and others turning back at sight of the guards endeavoured to obtain shelter in the city; some destroyed themselves. The guilty persons were over 7,000 in number. Four of the founders of the sect, being brought before the consuls, confessed their guilt, and were put to death. Those who had merely been initiated and taken the oath were condemned to prison, and those who had shared in the rites, a much greater number, were executed. The women, delivered over to those who had control of them,[1] were judged and punished in private.

A senatus-consultum, of which we have a copy,[2] decided that

[1] . . . . *Cognatis aut in quorum manu essent.* (Livy, xxxix. 18.)

[2] With the consul's letter, ordering obedience to it. This letter was found in 1640 [at Tiriolo, near Catanzaro, in southern Calabria] engraved on a bronze plate. It was addressed to

there should be no more Bacchanalia at Rome or in Italy, but that the ancient altars and statues consecrated to Bacchus should be left standing. It was also provided that in case any person should believe that some such kind of worship was necessary and incumbent upon him, and that he could not, without offence to religion or fear of calamity, omit it, he should represent this to the


M·MARCIVS·L·F·S·POSTVMIVS·L·F·COS·SENATVM·CONSOLVERVNT·N·OCTOB·APVD·AEDEM
VELONAI·SCARF·M·CLAVDIO·F·L·VALERI·P·F·Q·MINVCI·C·F· DE·BACANALIBVS·QVEI·FOIDERATEI
ESENT·ITA·EXDEICENDVM·CENSVERE·NEIQVIS·EORVM·SACANAL·HABVISE·VELET·SEI·QVIS
ESENT·QVEI·SIBEI·DEICERENT·NECESVS·ESE·BACANAL·HABERE·EEIS·VTEI·AD·PR·VRBANVM
ROMAM·VENIRENT·DEQVEEEIS·REBVS·VBEI·EORVM·VTRA·AVDITA·ESENT·VTEI·SENATVS
NOSTER·DECERNERET·DVM·NE·MINVS·SENATORIBVS·CADENTI·RES·COSOLERETVR
BACAS·VIR·NEQVIS·ADIESE·VELET·CEIVIS·ROMANVS·NEVE·NOMINVS·LATINVVE·SOCIVM
QVISQVAM·NISEI·PR·VRBANVM·ADIESENT·ISQVE·E·SENATVOS·SENTENTIA·DVM·NE
MINVS·SENATORIBVS·CADESENT·QVOM·EA·RES·COSOLERETVR·IOVSISENT·CE·N·R·L
SACERDOS·NEQVIS·VIR·ESET·MAGISTER·NEQVEI·NEQVE·MVLIER·QVISQVAM·ESET
NEVE·PECVNIAM·QVISQVAM·EORVM·COMOINEM·QVISVE·VE·ET·NEVE·MAGISTRATVM
NEVE·PROMAGISTRATVO·NEQVE·VIRVM·NEQVE·MVHIKEM·QVIQVAM·FECISEVEISET
NEVE·POST·HAC·INTER·SED·CONIOVRASE·NEVE·COMVOVISE·NEVE·CONSPONDISE
NEVE·CONDROME·SISEVELET·NEVE·QVISQVAM·FIDEM·INTER·SED·DEDISE·VELET
SACRA·IN·DOVOLTOR·NEQVISQVAM·FECISE·VELET·NEVE·IN·PORICOD·NEVE·IN
PREIVATOD·NEVE·EXSTRAD·VRBEM·SACR·QVIS·QVAM·FECISE·VELET· NISEI
PRVRRAMAMADIESET·ISQVE·DE·SENATVOS·SENTENTIAD·DVM·NE·MINVS
SENATORIBVS·CADESENT·QVOM·EA·RES·COSOLERETVR·IOVSISENT·CENSVERE
HOMINES·PLOVS·V·OINVORSEI·VIREI·ATQVE·MVLIERIBVS·PLOVSTRIBVS
FFCISE·VELET·NEVE·INTER·IBEI·VIREI·PLOVS·DVOBVS·MVLIERIBVS·PLOVSTRIBVS
ARI·VISE·VELENT·NISEI·DE·PR·VRBANI·SENATVOSQVE·SENTENTIAD·VTEI·SVPRA
SCRIPTVM·EST· HAICE·VTEI·IN·COVENTIONID·EXDEICATIS·NE·MINVS·TRINVM
NOVNDINVM·SENATVOSQVE·SENTENTIAM·VTEI·SCIENTES·ESETIS · EORVM

Fragment of the senatus-consultum on the Bacchanals.

prætor, who should lay the matter before the senate. If permission were granted by the senate when not less than 100 members were present, he then might perform the rites provided that no more than five persons were present at the sacrifice, and that they should have no common stock of money, nor any president of the ceremonies, nor priest. The worshippers were also forbidden to bind themselves by mutual oaths. And that no one might be

the people of Teura, and all the other cities of Italy had received a similar one. This bronze is now in Vienna. (*Corpus Inscript. Lat.* of Berlin, vol. i. p. 43.) [It is of great interest as one of our oldest specimens of Latin with archaic forms, such as the ablative in *d*, not to be found in Latin literature.—*Ed.*]

ignorant of this decree, it was directed that it be read in the public assembly on three market days, and engraved on a table of bronze, which should be fixed in some public place most easy of access; finally, that all offenders should be punished with death.

Another decree of the senate gave to Æbutius and Hispala the sum of 100,000 *ases* apiece; it was further directed that the necessary steps should be taken to exempt Æbutius from military service. Hispala received the privilege of disposing of her own property, of marrying out of her rank, and of choosing a guardian, also that she might marry a man of honourable birth, and such marriage should not be a cause of loss or ignominy to the husband; finally, that consuls and prætors, present and future, should watch particularly over her safety.[1]

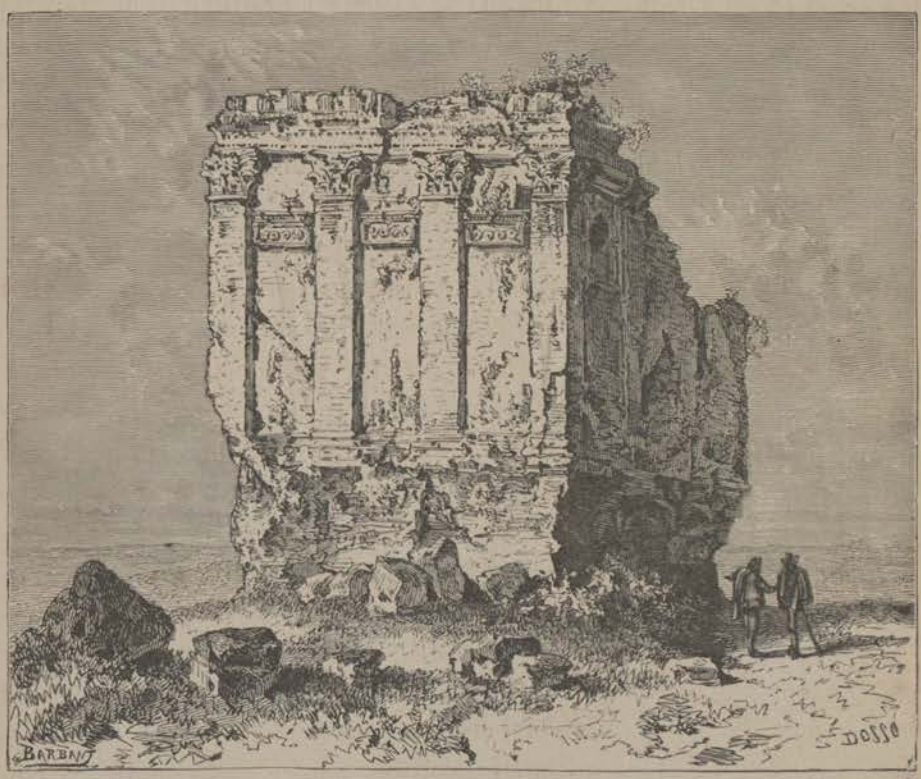
Bacchus.[2]

These events occurred in the year 186; search continued during the following years, and other victims perished; of these, most, doubtless were innocent, like many of those who were put to death in 186. There appears to have been no conspiracy in the matter. Crimes were imputed to the accused as they were later to the Jews and Christians. The scenes of debauchery are but too certain, and the initiated probably made away with certain persons now and then whose indiscretion they had reason to fear. The terror and confessions of Hispala, much more than the testimony of paid informers, can leave no doubt on this question. But this

[1] In other words, the decree of the people suggested by the *senatus-consultum* conferred upon Hispala all the rights of the Roman matron; without it her former owner would have inherited her property; he would have authorized no marriage except with one of his own freedmen; he would have been her guardian; and it appears from the words of Livy, "*Neu quid ei, qui eam duxisset, ob id fraudi ignominiæve esset*," to what the free Roman would otherwise have been exposed in marrying her. Augustus forbade such marriages to senators, but it seems probable that in earlier times they were forbidden, in the interest of morality, to any citizen.

[2] Bacchus holding a vase in the right hand and stretching the left towards a little figure standing on a pedestal, to which Clarac (*Musée de sculpt.*, vol. iv. p. 207) gives the name of Hope. This group was found in the territory of Tusculum. (London, *Hope Collection;* Cf. Saglio, fig. 715, p. 630.)

orgiastic worship, celebrated by night, this secret association, which elected chiefs and levied assessments from its members, caused alarm to statesmen as well as to the conservative in matters of religion. Those whose descendants came to call Christians the enemies of the human race had but little trouble in believing that the worshippers of Bacchus were the enemies of the Republic. In



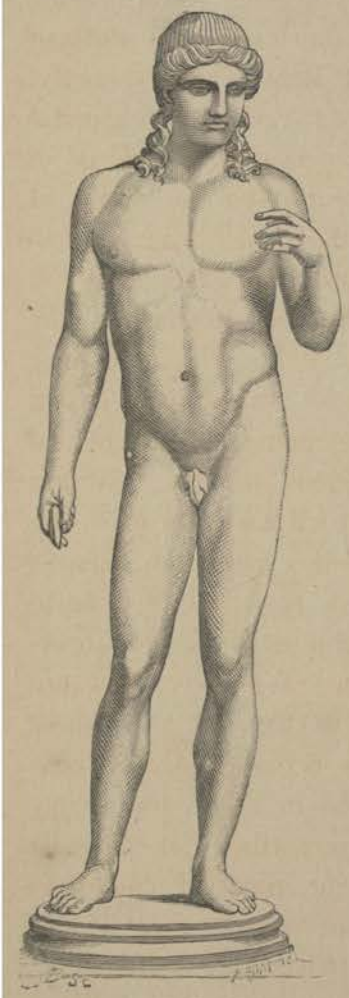
Ruins of the Temple of Health on the road to Albani.[1]

substance, the punishment of the Bacchanalians was the first of the religious persecutions ordered by the Roman government.

This pretended conspiracy had thrown men's minds into a condition which shows how easily these Romans became excited by superstitious terrors. A frightful plague ravaged Rome and all Italy. It carried off a prætor, a consul, many persons of importance, and so large a number of the people that recruiting became difficult. This scourge was regarded as a sign of celestial anger. The pontifex Maximus caused the Sibylline books to be

[1] From an engraving in the *Bibliothèque nationale.*

consulted. Offerings and gilded statues were vowed to the healing gods, Apollo, Æsculapius, and Health, and a supplication was offered for two days in the city and the market towns and villages by all persons over twelve years of age, the suppliants wearing garlands on their heads and carrying laurel branches in their hands. But the over-excited imagination of the people saw human villainy in this wide-spread mortality. The word poison was whispered, and ran through the city with extreme rapidity, as happens in cases of panic, and an investigation resulted, if we may believe Valerius of Antium, in the condemnation of 2,000 persons, among them Quarta Hostilia, the wife of the consul who had died of the pestilence.[1] It was a fresh holocaust offered to fear.



Apollo.[2]

The proceedings against the Bacchanalians are worthy of our further attention, for many important facts are thereby brought to notice. We see that the senate suggested decrees to the popular assembly, and itself made laws and set in motion the whole administration, consuls and prætors, ædiles and tribunes of the people, regulating the affairs of Rome and of Italy. We see, moreover, to what extent had grown the dependence of the Italians upon the city, now their capital and their mistress, since the senate was able to forbid to them certain forms of worship, and reserved to itself the right of giving the *jus civitatis* to new divinities. Still further serious consequences followed from the affair, since the emperors inheriting

[1] In this statement facts are collected, which Livy separates. (Cf. xxxix. 41, and xl. 37.) The accusations of poisoning began again in 152, when two noble matrons were put to death in their own houses.

[2] *Atl. du Bull. archéol.*, vol. viii. pl. 13. [From a Pompeian bronze.]

the senate's jealousy of foreign religious and secret societies, accepted the decree in the affair of the Bacchanalia, as a rule for their dealings with the Jews and Christians.

Details of manners may be noticed. The rights of the domestic tribunal still recognized; the demi-servitude of the freed person: the facility of recognized intimacy with a courtesan; the duty of a city's patron to keep that city informed of Roman affairs; lastly, the use of informations obtained by offer of reward, a shameful legacy from the Republic to the Empire. Another point is of greater importance—the fact that Hispala entertains no doubt of the religious character of these mysteries, that she believes them of divine origin, that she dreads the anger of the gods on account of her revelations, that, finally, the senate regards the matter in the same light, neither proscribing the god nor his worship, and solely striving to repress its immoralities. But to us these lawless doings make part of a numerous category of analagous facts, which the history of religions records. Within the pale of an association employing the usual methods of secret societies, the mysterious initiation, the solemn oath, the menace (sometimes the poniard) for those who break their plighted faith, we find teaching of esoteric doctrines, impure rites, the over-excitement of the senses and the souls of men. Whatever allowance may require to be made for exaggeration in the story of these horrors, there must remain enough truth to reveal a certain condition of mind which had never before existed in Rome, but henceforth would exist and develop. The proscribed Bacchanalia re-appeared;[1] the priests of Jupiter Sabasius repeated the same scandals. In 140 it became necessary to expel these pious profligates from Rome, together with the Chaldæan astrologers,[2] but they soon returned, and many others in their train. Sylla,

[1] Livy, xxxix. 8–19. Notwithstanding the severities of the year 186, the Bacchanalia continued with a little more decency at first, but later without any restraints, merely ceasing to seek concealment, a change which, in the eyes of the government, removed its dangerous character. At Lavinium, says S. Augustine (*Civ. Dei*, vii. 21), they were celebrated during an entire month with the most shameful obscenities. It is, however, justice to add that the Romans never introduced into their public worship those consecrated prostitutions which dishonoured so many of the Oriental religions. The reserve of the Western nations preserved them from this shame. Upon the subject of these immoralities considered as acts of devotion, see J. Baissac, *Les Origines de la religion* (1877).

[2] Val. Max., I. iii. 1; Cic., *de Leg.*, ii. 15.

conservative in the extreme, introduced the Enyo of the Cappadocians, and Varro says, "All the gods of Egypt have come down upon Rome."

We have therefore just witnessed the very humble and the very shameful beginnings of a moral revolution destined to exercise the greatest influence upon the destinies of the empire.

If we compare this narrative with what was said in the third chapter of the first volume, we shall find that in religious things the Roman mind before arriving at Christianity passed through three phases, which naturally ensue.

The first is marked by the narrow and prosaic character of the Latino-Sabine religion.

The second appeared when the weighty slavery of this formal ceremonial, good for the rude peasant, became insupportable to men who, having conquered many provinces and many ideas, began to believe that human foresight had more weight in the affairs of this world than Jupiter's favour. They retained the old forms of worship as a means of government, leaving religious institutions blended with political until the very end of the pagan empire, but for themselves they renounced the old beliefs while seeking for no new ones, and the best of them stood in that middle path of good sense and indulgent doubt where Horace chooses in those lines which must have appeared most irreverent to the devout:—

Sed satis est orare Jovem quæ donat et aufert
Det vitam, det opes: æquum mi animum ipse parabo.[1]

This is the epoch which we have reached—that of scepticism.

Already the third was beginning to appear. The philosophic doubt of the consulars, whose education Greece had superintended, was not for every man's use. Those whom a nervous and excitable organization predisposed to ardent passions and lively imaginings, women especially, began to weary of the national gods, too long deaf to their prayers, and carried their offerings to the divinities who came to them from the East with a whole train of strange rites, by which mind and senses were alike excited. It was the preparation for the final phase. But four centuries were yet needed before these cold and selfish souls could arrive at

[1] *Ep.*, I. xviii. 111–112; *Carm.*, ii. 3.

mysticism, before these men would exchange their mad pleasures for religious gloom, the worship of life for that of death. We have seen how in this early Rome all tottered to its fall, morals and faith alike. We shall soon see a new Rome arise.

V.—Influence of Greece upon Roman Literature.

In respect to letters, shall we say that these conquered people who subjugated their conquerors exercised a happy influence upon Rome? No Latin tongue had yet cried out with the grief or love that the true poet utters. Poetry is something personal and individual, and in Rome the severe discipline of laws and custom, *mos majorum*, had not permitted the flight of individual genius. Accordingly this phenomenon had been produced, unique in the history of nations, that a people had arrived at high political eminence without having kindled the flame of patriotism and noble thought upon the hearth-stone of letters.

When the Romans accepted Greece as their instructor they had not yet formed their language or their taste. Hence their literature, from its very earliest days, was marked by the character that it always retained, namely, the imitation of Greece, and this tamely accepted dependence prevented it from making a path for itself. It remained an echo of the voices to which Hellas had listened.

Early Rome had had, no doubt, songs of a rude and primitive nature, which time would have softened; she possessed also traditions, legends, glorious memories which would have been precious material for a national poet. But this poet never appeared, and from the time when Ennius the Calabrian[1] substituted the Greek hexameter for the old Saturnian verse, native poetry fell into neglect and was lost without hope of recovery. Carried away by the brilliant forms of Greek literature, the Roman nobles, especially the Scipios, popularized it with a zeal that alarmed the patriotism of Cato. Everyone spoke Greek,[2] Scipio Africanus

[1] Ennius was born in 239, and died in 169.

[2] The numerous hostages brought from Greece into Italy brought Greek, for many families, into the relations of private life.

no less than Paulus Æmilius, who brought home the books of Perseus, Flamininus as well as Scipio Æmilianus, who knew Homer by heart. The pontifex Maximus, P. Crassus, knew all the Greek dialects, Cato himself learned the language, and Ennius opened upon the Aventine a school for instruction in Greek. The year of the battle of Pydna, Crates of Mallos, Homer's commentator, coming to Rome, gave lessons there which drew a crowd about him, and Sylla even permitted the Greek envoys to harangue the senate in their own tongue.

Doubtless in this intercourse the rude speech of Latium gained more softness and elegance. But it did not stop with the giving of ideas; words were copied, and some went so far as to blend the two languages, like Lucilius, whose style is sometimes like a mosaic of Greek and Latin words.[1] Fabius Pictor had already, in the time of the second Punic war, written a Roman history in Greek. Postumius Albinus, a senator, followed this example, and excused himself in his preface in case he should have made any errors in the foreign tongue, to which Cato replied, "But were you obliged to write in that language?" Flamininus, it is certain, committed no barbarisms in the Greek verses engraved on the silver bucklers he hung up on the walls of the temple at Delphi.

Horace, the most original of the Latin authors, began by Greek verses, and in the midst of his success, exhorted his fellow Romans to read the Greek authors night and day. How many novelties, indeed—philosophy and science, amorous gallantry and the dainty refinements of society, lyric and elegiac verse, were now to find expression in that language which for centuries had done no more than speak the rude fact, as a weapon, which is still covered with the slag of the foundry, smites, but does not flash. At the same time, whatever Roman

Dioscuri on Horseback.[2]

[1] Hor., *Sat.*, I. x. 23: *Sermo linguâ concinnus utrâque suavior.* Cicero (*de Off.*, i. 31) takes up the same ridicule, although he himself uses Greek words in almost every one of his letters to Atticus. (See also Juv., *Sat.*, vi.) A prætor, Albicius, went so far as to forget his mother tongue. (See *Fragm. Lucilii.*) Lucullus wrote in Greek as well as Cicero, but the latter was careful not to leave barbarisms therein, which Lucullus did, as he said, expressly.

[2] P. PAETVS ROMA. The Dioscuri on horseback. Reverse of a silver coin of the Ælian family.

literature, trained in the schools of Greece lost in originality, it gained in rapid development, by having access to their richest storehouse of literary treasures. From the time that contact was well established between Roman and Greek genius, a brilliant light shone upon Italy, and Rome produced great poets.

In this first period of Roman literature, therefore, we find everywhere the forms and the spirit of the Greek. There are translations and imitations, and even the rhythm is copied. The form which succeeds best, comedy, has nothing Roman about it, but neither is it the comedy of Aristophanes. The nobles were too powerful at Rome to suffer the liberties which the Greek poet had allowed himself at Athens, and the terrible law of the Twelve Tables against offensive verses was still in force.[1] "What folly is mine," cries Plautus, with a modesty which was really but prudence, "what folly to concern myself in public affairs when we have magistrates to watch over them!"[2] They copied Menander, Philemon, and Diphilus,[3] and in the plays of Plautus[4] and Terence the reader feels himself at Athens, although the former was an Umbrian, the latter a Carthaginian. They made no secret of it: "Without the aid of an architect," says one of them, "I have transported Athens to Rome,"[5] and he promises countless Attic jokes.[6] The higher praise that Cæsar gives to Terence is to call him a demi-Menander. Instead of a picture of national life and manners there is nothing, except in some rare allusions, but a weak representation of the vices and follies of mankind, where art loses both force and genuineness. And still now and then Plautus remembers that he is at Rome, and the senator, hastening to the senate house, because offices are there distributed; the poor devil who goes to receive his share of a *congiarium;* the young fop who does not hesitate to bilk a courtesan while waiting his opportunity to plunder a province; these women whose

[1] See vol. i. p. 224.

[2] *Persa,* i. 2.

[3] To appreciate the superiority of Menander over the Latin comic authors, his imitators, see Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Att.,* ii. 23.

[4] Plautus was born in Sarsina in Umbria, about 254, and died in 184; Terence at Carthage, and being taken by pirates in his childhood, was sold to Terentius Lucanus, a Roman senator. He died by shipwreck at the age of thirty-five.

[5] Plaut., *Trucul.,* in the *prologue.*

[6] *Persa,* III. i. 67.

luxury exasperates Megadorus as much as it does Cato—wives with ten-talent dowries,[1] faithful but termagants, as a good number of those matrons must have been, whom their husbands could not hinder from making a riot on a question of toilette; the client who will not dishonour his station by carrying on business, but sells his testimony and lives upon his perjuries; the old bachelor whose sensual egotism displays itself so complacently; and the precocious profligate who threatens his slave-tutor with the whip—all these characters must indeed have lived in Rome.[2]

Menander.[3]

We may add another, the parasite, lately arrived from Athens, henceforth to be found in swarms around those groaning boards;[4] Plautus shows him to us reading over, in

[1] Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Att.*, ii. 23.

[2] *Trucul.*, v. 80–90: *Pœnulus*, 659. For other allusions of Plautus, see the *Captivi*, *Asinaria*, *Casina*, and in *Curculio* (IV. i. 478–500) his description of Rome: "Do you require a perjurer, go to the *comitium*; a liar, seek him beside the temple of Venus Cloacina . . . ; in the Tuscan quarter you will find people ready to sell themselves: in the Velabrum, diviners and profligates haunting the house of Leucadia Oppia." See also in the *Menæchmi*, scenes of villainy in which the two heroes of the piece, though young men of good family, allow themselves to figure. At the court of Louis XIV. it was common to cheat at play, at that of Augustus a man put his hand in his neighbour's pocket (Catull., *Carm.*, xii. 25), and the usage was of considerable date then.

[3] Statue in the Vatican.

[4] Epicharmus first, and then Alexis, introduced the parasite in the Athenian theatre. See p. 206, the words of one of the parasites of Alexis.

preparation for the next supper, his old store of jokes, or fretting about the recent importation of sun-dials so slowly marking the hours as they advance towards the appointed time for the feast. "May

A Banquet (*Symposium*).[1]

the gods confound who invented hours and was the first to place a sun-dial in this city! The traitor has cut my day up into morsels!

[1] Painting from Pompeii; illustration drawn from Nicollini, *Museo Borbonico*.

In my boyhood the appetite was a much more correct guide. Never did it fail to give me notice in time, and never was it mistaken, unless indeed there were nothing to eat. Now, however much there may be, there is nothing to be had till it please the sun!"[1] It must be remembered that the comic poets who profess to paint society, really depict only its eccentricities, its follies, and exceptional vices; that a single verse of theirs, well turned, makes more noise in the world than the virtue of a thousand women, because that virtue, not having the theatre for its dwelling place, is hidden from the public view. In spite of all the *Græculi*, therefore, we must believe that there were honest people in Rome, as there doubtless were, notwithstanding Epicurus, many devout ones. The every-day life of a people only alters with extreme slowness. It is the manners of those who have lately made fortunes that are liable to rapid change. Every day we see this in the case of individuals. Rome saw it in the case of many for whom

The Goddess Chastity.[2]

[1] Fragment of "the Bœotian woman." These words of Plautus would put Pliny in the wrong (*Hist. Nat.*, vii. 60), who says that the first sun-dial was brought to Rome by Papirius Cursor twelve years before the war with Pyrrhus. See vol. i. p. 547.

[2] Statue in the Museum of the Louvre, No. 124 of the Clarac catalogue.

the passage from poverty to wealth was a sudden transition. But amidst conspicuous profligacy certain families still retained all the early austerity of Roman manners. There were still Virginii, who chose for their children death rather than shame.[1] There are still matrons who can enter with head erect the temple of Chastity, and upon the tomb of more than one can be inscribed, as in the case of Claudia, "Gentle in words, graceful in manner, she loved her husband devotedly; she kept her house, she spun wool" (*domum servavit, lanam fecit*).[2] Plautus himself puts these words in the mouth of Alcmene. "My dowry is chastity, modesty, and the fear of the gods; it is love to my kindred; it is to be submissive to my husband, kind towards good people, helpful to the brave." Lucretius, so severe upon love, grants to the wise man that he may also find happiness in a virtuous marriage, as was the case in early days, and is still possible at the present time. This Alcmene of Plautus reappears in Cornelia, the daughter of Scipio and mother of the Gracchi.

We have not a single play remaining by Cæcilius, a native of Cisalpine Gaul, who has been compared with Terence, and may have aided that author's early work, but does not merit the honour of being likened to him, if we may judge by the quotations of Aulus Gellius.

Two other poets, one preceding Plautus, the other following him, Nævius, a soldier in the first Punic war, of which he sang in a poem admired by Cicero, and Lucilius, who was with Scipio Æmilianus at the siege of Numantia, had, if not more talent, at least more courage and originality. Nævius wrote in the old national rhythm, in Saturnian verse, and the Latin titles of many of his pieces show that he took pleasure in representing the manners of the lower classes at Rome.[3] We know also that he did not scruple to attack the most powerful citizens. Twice his poetry gained him the honour of persecution. History must give him credit for the position he took so audaciously against the nobles,

[1] Pontius Aufidianus and Atilius Philiscus slew their daughters; Fabius Maximus Servilianus, his son; Menius, a favourite freedman. For a breach of morals a tribune of the people is condemned, and none of his colleagues interpose; a centurion dies in prison; adulterers are put to death, and no punishment is meted out to the slayer, etc. (Val. Max., VI. i. 3–13.)

[2] Orelli, 4848.

[3] *Agitatoria, Ariolus, Bubulcus, Cerdo, Figulus, Fullones, Lignaria, Tunicularia.*

and associate the name of the poor Campanian with the great struggle waged by Cato against the Scipios. Unfriendly towards the Greek influence, whose beginnings he saw, he left this inscription for his own tomb: "If the gods could weep for mortals the muses would weep for Nævius the poet. When he went down into the treasure-house of Pluto the Latin language was forgotten at Rome." He had reason to dread this invasion of Greek ideas and forms; the Athenian comedy (*palliata*) effaced the Roman (*togata*), and time has left almost nothing of the works of Nævius save a few verses, among which is this one, which does him honour: "Always have I preferred liberty to wealth." Those who like himself have devoted themselves to the painting of national life had no better fortune.[1]

But Lucilius was a rich knight, friend of Æmilianus and grand-uncle of Pompeius,[2] protected by his rank, who wrote with impunity thirty satires, a style created by himself, and, thanks to Horace, Perseus and Juvenal, one which remained very Roman. In these satires he rails at the rich and the poor, the people and the nobles, "who from morning till night run up and down the Forum, occupied with but one anxiety, to feign honesty and to deceive each other." Consuls, triumphant generals, the Metelli, Carbo, the rude Opimius, Cassius, Cotta, who would not pay his creditors, Torquatus Tuditanus "the coward," Calvus "the bad soldier," — no man escaped his keen wit, neither Lupus, prevaricating and impious judge, nor Gallonius, the glutton, nor even "the nose of the prætor elect."[3] "They believe that they can commit all crimes with impunity. They are of noble rank; that is enough to shut the mouths of all objectors." "To-day," he says, elsewhere, "gold holds the place of virtue; by what thou hast thy worth will be measured." Whether

[1] Afranius, Fabius Dossennus, Titinius, Quinctius Atta, and the famous farce writer (*Atellanæ fabulæ*), Pomponius of Bologna.

[2] According to Eusebius, he was born in 148 at Suessa Aurunca, but the true date is probably earlier. The longest of his 800 fragments has only thirteen verses. (*Lucil. reliq.*, edit. Douza.) It has been said, but without reason, that he was the first Roman of noble condition who gave a part of his life to literary pursuits. He at first gave much of his time to business; later he made a fortune in the public farms, and both Cato and Fabius Pictor had written much before his time.

[3] *Nec designati rostrum prætoris.* He spared only virtue, says Horace: *uni æquus virtuti.* (Sat., II. i. 70.)

it be by chance or the result of the poet's intention, there is to be found in his fragments neither the name of Nævius nor that of Plautus, while the imitators of Greece, Ennius, Pacuvius, Cæcilius, are rudely scourged. The world loves to laugh at itself. This satire on the men of his time gave Lucilius immense popularity. At his death the citizens of Rome paid, it is said, the expenses of his funeral.

Terence.[1]

Of Terence, who, says Montaigne, has the manners of a gentleman, we have nothing to say. He is a correct poet who never "boils over," as was said of Nævius, who addresses Lælius and Scipio rather than the

Scene of a Comedy.[2]

crowd. He paints the characters of all time, and if he delights the scholar by the elegance of his language, he furnishes the historian with no useful fact except this, that there had at last

[1] Medal (*unique*) in the Museum of Gotha. (Visconti, *Iconog. romaine*, p. 148, No. 3.)

[2] Roux, *Herculanum et Pompéi*, vol. iii. p. 60–61, pl. 123. It seems that the artist has borrowed the design for his fresco from the *Miles Gloriosus* of Plautus or the *Eunuchus* of Terence. The man with the lance may well be the swaggering bully who calls himself the *Taker-of-Cities*. In this case the actor who is speaking to him would be the slave *Palestrion*, one of the ancestors of the French Mascarille. The two old men seated at the right and left appear to be statues representing two authors, as we now place in the entrance halls of our theatres the names or busts of writers whose pieces are played within. Theatrical masks, originally used in Athens, were first employed by actors in the *Atellanæ fabulæ* (see vol. i. p. 539); they seem to have been introduced into comic representations by Roscius about the year 100. (Rutschius, *Gramm. Latinæ auct. ant.*, vol. iii. p. 486.)

been formed at Rome a society of wits. And here we have a feature of the new Rome.

We shall only mention the dramatic attempts of Nævius and Ennius, the *Education of Romulus* of the former and the *Siege of Ambracia* of the latter. The Greek Melpomene never crossed the Adriatic Sea. In tragedy an ideal was needed, which the Romans did not possess. Æschylus and Sophocles lived near the gods and heroes, but the gods of Rome, shut up in the Capitol near the place where grave senators deliberated, were themselves too serious to have adventures, and her great men, soldiers of duty, wore indeed the civic crown, but had not upon their brows the aureole of heroes. Neither could supply a great poetic inspiration.

Thalia.[1]

The general tendency of the Roman literature of this period is, like that of the Greek at the same epoch, towards impiety. It has already been said that Ennius translated the book of Euhemerus; in his fragments, and in those of Pacuvius, the augurs, auruspices, and soothsayers are seen to mock upon the stage,

[1] *Musée Pio Clementino*, vol. i. pl. 18, and Clarac, *Musée de sculpt.*, pl. 509, No. 1025. This statue was found in the olive grove at Tivoli, in the place called Pianella di Cassio. Any sitting representations of the comic muse are rare.

amid the applause of the people, says Cicero, those gods whom in the temples they worshipped.[1] Lucilius, who no more spared the denizens of heaven than of earth, represents the twelve great gods seated in council and laughing at mankind who call them fathers; Neptune, also, being embarrassed in a discussion where he was getting the worst of it, saying by way of excuse that Carneades himself could not have argued his way out.[2] Again he mocks at the Romans "prostrate and trembling before those vain images invented by Numa, like children who take statues for living beings, giving life to bronze and marble, taking for truth that which is only a lie." From time to time Plautus is tempted to believe in a supreme being and in divine providence; his *Rudens* has a certain moral and religious tone. The play opens with a prologue recited by a divine personage, the star Arcturus,

Melpomene.[3]

[1] *De Div.*, ii. 50: *Ennius, qui magno plausu loquitur, adsentiente populo: Ego deum genus esse semper dixi et dicam cœlitum, sed eos non curare opinor quid agat humanum genus.* Elsewhere he says, in the character of Telamon (Cic., *de Nat. deor.*, iii. 32): *Cur di homines negligant: nam si curent, bene bonis sit; male malis; quod nunc abest.* Cicero assures us that in his time it was the opinion of many philosophers: . . . . *nec irasci deum, nec nocere.* (*de Off.*, iii. 28.) He speaks of the oracles with very little respect (*de Div.*, ii. 56), and believes that the representations that have been made of the Elysian Fields are *somnia optantis, non probantis.* Cæsar openly professed atheism. (Cf. Martha, *Lucrèce*, p. 130, *seq.*)

[2] Cic., *de Rep.*, iii. 6. He also derided the worship of images: *eorum stultitiam qui simulacra deos putant esse deridet.* (Lact., *Inst. Div.*, xiv. 22.)

[3] Colossal statue in the Louvre, believed to have adorned the theatre of Pompeii; No. 348

appearing on the stage in the midst of clouds, his forehead surrounded with a starry aureole, and saying to the spectators: "I am a dweller in the sky, one of those genii who rule the night amongst the stars, whom by day Jupiter sends to earth to watch the actions of men and report to him faithfully thereon.[1] He revises the sentences of the judges and of those in authority; if a man gains his cause by intrigue and fraud, the amends which Jupiter inflicts sooner or later greatly exceed the unjust gain. By his orders crimes and virtues are inscribed upon the eternal registers. It is I who have to-day called down a tempest upon the traitor, whom you will see dragging himself upon the shore."[2] But all these gods, reciters of prologues, are not equally respectable, his Jupiter is of scandalous behaviour. And what must the devout have thought when Plautus represents the father of gods and men inhaling the odour that arises from the frying-pans of a chattering cook, or going to bed

Anubis.[3]

of the Clarac catalogue. Rome had some translations or imitations of the Greek tragedies, especially of those of Euripides. The writings of Accius, some of which were on Roman subjects, have been lost. Cicero (*pro Planco*, 24; *pro Sestio*, 56) speaks of him with high praise; there remains from his *Prometheus* a monologue not unworthy of Æschylus. (Egger, *Lat. serm. vet. reliq.*, p. 197. Cf. Neukirch, *Diss. de Fab. togata ac de L. Afranio*; Bothe, *Poet. scen. latin.*, and Maittaire, *Oper. et fr. vet. poet. lat.*)

[1] *Est profecto deus qui quæ nos gerimus auditque et videt.* (*Capt.*, 242.)

[2] Naudet, vol. viii., p. 233 of his translation of Plautus.

[3] Anubis (*Musée Capitolin*, iii., pl. 85). A Roman statue found at Porto d'Anzio (Antium)

without his supper when this cook did not work for him, or when Sosia explains that the day is late in appearing; because Apollo is lazy after drinking too much the night before.[1] A little later than this buffoons exhibited daily to the people "Anubis, the adulterer, Diana beaten with rods, and three starved Hercules." [2]

Venus Anadyomene.[4]

A poet of the next age, but in style and thought kindred to the time of which we speak, Lucretius, has developed with eloquent audacity the materialistic doctrines of Epicurus. He has come, he says, to free men's minds from the chains of superstition,[3] to lift up the hearts that are bowed with fear, to put an end to those offerings of victims that men in their terror are constantly bringing to the altars. In his magnificent invocation in the first book he addresses Venus, but he means the Venus who is Nature herself, repairing with her mighty forces the ravages made by death. The gods he relegates to some distant abode where they repose in idleness, no longer concerned with the affairs of men, and

in 1749, showing the blending of Roman and Egyptian ideas. Instead of the head of the jackal, which the Egyptians give to their Anubis, leader of souls, we find a dog's head; the caduceus of Mercury, also the leader of souls into the infernal regions, takes the place of the sceptre with greyhound's head, and the left hand holds a sistrum. This sacred instrument was made of bronze, silver, or gold, and consisted of three or four metallic rods, loosely inserted in an oval frame: it was shaken at the festivals of Isis, giving forth musical sounds. Plutarch (*de Iside et Osir.*) maintained that it symbolized the four elements composing the world, by means of which all things are constantly destroyed and recomposed.

[1] *Pseudolus*, 854 and 860.

[2] Tertull., *Apol.*, 15.

[3] *Religionum animum nodis exsolvere pergo* (i. 931), and he terminates the sacrifice of Iphigenia with the famous verse:

Tantum religio potuit suadere malorum.

[4] Or Venus rising from the waves. Museum of the Vatican, *nuovo braccio*, No. 90.

the very thunder-bolt itself is no longer the weapon of divine vengeance. He speaks of it as "that blind flame which falls upon the temples of the gods, which wastes itself in deserts or upon the sea, and passes by the guilty man to smite an innocent head." In the creation all things are explained for him by physical causes, and he clothes this empiricism in the most magnificent poetry. "The thunder is the wind taking fire from the rapidity of its motion; life is the rapid succession of beings dissolving and re-forming;[1] death, the unalterable calm of the sweetest sleep; and hell, an invention of poets or of the timorous conscience

Sisyphus

Ixion upon the wheel.[2]

Tantalus.

of the guilty. This Tantalus chilled with terror, under the rock which threatens him, is only the human being alarmed at imaginary threats of the gods, and believing himself overwhelmed by their anger, under the woes which a blind destiny brings upon him. What being could suffer eternal pains and furnish eternal food to

[1] The principle of modern science: nothing perishes, all is transformed.

[2] From a bas-relief engraved in the magnificent edition of the *Æneid*, published by the Duchess of Devonshire (*l'Eneide di Virgilio recata in versi italiani da Annibale Caro*, 1819; 2 vols., fol., 164 copies only printed). The Greeks were not disposed to represent sad or terrible subjects; we have, accordingly, few representations of punishments. We give those of the three most famous of the immortal sufferers of paganism: Ixion upon his wheel; Sisyphus, bearing his rock to the summit of the hill whence it forever falls back; Tantalus a prey to devouring thirst, and trying with his two hands to bring to his lips the water which forever flows below them. A famous picture of Polygnotus in the *Lesche* at Delphi represented Tantalus, plunged in water, a tree loaded with fruit out of reach above him, and a rock forever threatening to fall upon him. (Pausan., x. 51, § 1.)

his tormentors? To fill one's soul with all good and never satisfy it, is not that the punishment of those maidens who endlessly pour the flying stream into a bottomless vase? Like man, the world also will die. Some day, and perhaps you yourself may behold it, this great vault, battered by the shocks of doom, will give way, and then burning fragments will be scattered through space. These verities," he dares to add, "are surer than the oracles from Apollo's tripod." [1]

Presently, Cæsar in the open senate declares that death is the end of all, and Cicero, the man who wrote the *Dream of Scipio*, will treat as an idle fable the doctrine of a life to come.[2] ". . . . What harm can death do us, unless, believing in childish stories, we think the wicked may suffer punishment in hell. If, however, these be chimeras, as no one doubts,[3] what is it that death takes from us? The feeling of pain." And notwithstanding all the hypocritical worship that the official world lavished upon them in the temples, the gods were none the less dead; people's minds in growing more enlightened saw the folly of those fables created by the imagination of childish days, and as they became older, they had less and less need of the gods.

But not alone did the old religion vanish away; the very earliest virtue of Rome, patriotism, began to lose itself in that immense empire, where it was no longer clear where the affection should be directed. Lucilius satirizes that Albutius who "preferred to be at Athens rather than at Rome, and those who in the very Forum salute with the Greek Χαῖρε;" in vain does he say that "a man should subordinate his personal interests to those of his neighbours, and the interest of his neighbours to that of his country;" here is Lucretius writing a poem of 7,000 or 8,000 lines, and never, save once, and by chance, introducing the Roman name.[4] And yet Rome had more than ever need of resolute and devoted citizens; but it is not the poetry of Lucretius, splendid as it was, that could give them to her: "Sweet is it when the tempest raises the

[1] Virgil also believed that there would be an end to the world, but he hoped for its renewal.

[2] *Pro Cluentio*, 61: . . . . *ineptiis ac fabulis.*

[3] *Quæ si falsa sunt, id quod omnes intelligunt* . . . . (*ibid*).

[4] The line where he supplicates Venus to beg from Mars an end to conflicts:

. . . . *petens placidam Romanis, incluta, pacem.*

mighty sea to contemplate from the shore the mariner tossed by the waves . . . . to look upon perils which one does not incur, to be a spectator of battles waged in the plain and have no share in the danger. But sweeter yet it is to dwell upon the serene heights of science, in the inviolable sanctuaries which the thoughts of the wise have constructed, whence one sees afar off men wandering to and fro in life, striving for the rewards of genius, disputing for precedence, and exhausting themselves night and day with infinite efforts to seize upon power and fortune. O miserable human beings! blinded minds, who do not understand what is needed for the soul, namely, to be delivered from cares and from superstitious fears."

This is fine rhetoric, but the poem can never be a lesson in patriotism. Before the time of Lucretius, another author trained in the school of Greece, Pacuvius the Apulian, had said, "Your native country? it is the place where you live most at your ease."[1]

Heaven and hell correspond; he who denies one denies the other. It was no longer believed that there were rewards and penalties beyond the grave. Men of letters ceased to speak of that sad and silent life of the shades so dear to the Roman of early days.[2] Panætius, the Stoic, a friend of Æmilianus, maintained, with most of the rhetoricians gathered in Rome, that the soul perishes together with the body.[3] Catullus repeats it in much imitated verse: "The sun may be set and rise again; but we, whence once the fugitive light of our days is gone, must sleep in an eternal night."[4] It is needless to ask Lucretius what he thinks on this subject; we know it already. But a poet, born before the second Punic war, more allied consequently to the earlier manners, ends human destiny at the grave as the play ends at the theatre, with the call for applause, *plaudite, cives*. In the epitaph which he composed for himself, he says: "Young man, passing by so quickly, this stone calls to thee: look and read.

[1] Cic., *Tuscul.*, v. 37. Pacuvius, the nephew of Ennius, was born at Brundusium about 220, and died at Tarentum in 132. He cultivated the two arts, painting and poetry, thus following the example of Fabius Pictor.

[2] See vol. i., p. 88.

[3] Cic., *de Amic.*, 4.

[4] *Carm.*, v. 4-7. [Adapted from Moschus].

Here are the bones of Pacuvius, the poet. I have nothing else to teach thee. Farewell."[1] Lucilius says no more than this.

Of all these adversaries, Roman polytheism found Lucretius the most formidable; for he substituted the immutable laws of nature in place of the caprices of the gods, and followed up sarcasm which had made men laugh by a system which made them think. Everybody read his poems and borrowed from them, even Virgil, who at least pays him homage in these noble lines: "Happy he who has known how to penetrate the first causes of things, and tread under foot puerile terrors, inexorable destiny, and the vain sounds of greedy Acheron;"[2] no one, however, quotes him; the religious hypocrisy of official society forbade the mention of the illustrious reprobate.

Isocrates.

The direct influence of Greece is not visible in Roman prose. Fabius Pictor, whom Polybius regards with but little respect, had probably read neither Herodotus nor Thucydides; at least, nothing of the grace of the one, or the depth of the other appears in the little we have left of his [Greek] writings.[3] Cato was even purely Roman in his treatise, *de Re rustica*, which we have, and in his *Origines*, which is one of our greatest losses. There remain to us the names of a great number of annalists, whose works would be precious for the historian, but doubtless not so for the man of literary taste. One of them, however, Cassius Hemina, seems to have been a scholar, for Sallust has not disdained to borrow from him this thought: *Omnia orta occidunt et aucta senescunt*, "all that has been born must die; all that has grown must decay."[4]

[1] The authenticity of these lines has been disputed; if they are not by Pacuvius, they belong, however, to his age.

[2] *Georg.*, ii. 490. (Strangely enough, Cicero says, he writes: *Majore cura quam ingenio.*)

[3] See vol. i., p. 97.

[4] *Jug.*, 2. Hemina's words are: *Quæ nata sunt ea omnia denasci aiunt.* (Nonius, s.v. *denasci.*)

In a Republic, the platform is a battlefield, where he who can conquer wins all honour and power. Often enough eloquence even takes the place of wisdom and experience, words having more value than action. At Rome, where certainly men were capable of action, the art of persuasion was also cultivated. These assemblies of senate and people, these tribunals in the open air, this custom of funeral orations and military harangues, had formed great orators at Rome before men had read by the banks of the Tiber, a *Philippic* of Demosthenes, or one of the elaborate discourses of Isocrates.

All the harangues that we read in Livy were constructed by himself, and we dare not quote them as specimens of the early Latin eloquence. But in the time of Cicero, certain addresses had been preserved, which he greatly admired. The last century of the Republic was fruitful in great orators; at their head stand Cato and Caius Gracchus, of whom we shall speak later. After them two men eclipsed all others in the Forum. Antonius and Crassus. Thanks to Cicero the first has great renown as an orator; we willingly add to this another distinction, for he was the finished type of the advocate who considers himself above all an artist in the use of language, to whom success is the one thing desired, whatever be the means employed to obtain it or the nature of the cause for which he pleads. For this reason he would never write any of his public addresses, so that he could always deny his words, if he were at any time charged with contradicting himself. This able man, who boasted of owing nothing to Greece, had then no need to study the sophistries of Athens, having them all within himself.

Crassus, his rival, possessed true eloquence; we will quote some of his burning words, which show, besides, a scene in the Roman Forum. Pleading one day against a profligate young man, M. Brutus, who dishonoured his rank by an idle life, he perceived the funeral procession of a certain Junia, his adversary's aunt, entering the Forum; upon this he stops, and exclaims: "What will you, Brutus, that this woman should recount to your father, to the illustrious men whose statues you see carried there, to that Brutus who delivered the Roman people from the tyranny of the kings? What will she say of your occupations? To what duties, what

honour, what virtue will she represent you as devoted? Is it to augmenting your patrimony? None remains to you; your excesses have devoured it. To the study of law? That has been handed down to you by your father; but she will say that in selling your house you did not even reserve from the paternal furniture the consulting chair of the jurisconsult. To military science? but you have never seen a camp. To eloquence? but you have prostituted whatever talent of this kind you may have to the infamous trade of calumny. And you dare to look your judges in the face! you dare to present yourself in the Forum before the eyes of your fellow-citizens! And you do not tremble with shame in the presence of this dead woman, and before the pageant of your ancestors!" [1]

Men capable of speaking thus had no occasion to borrow from the Greeks. The latter, however, assumed to give them rhetorical precepts, which never made an orator, and they furnished to them certainly very dangerous examples. The rhetoricians had made an art of language; but they enervated thought while striving to guide it, and the idea was of little importance to them provided the expression had a pleasing melody. Cicero owed to them the excessive luxuriance of his earlier works.[2]

Jurisprudence was also a purely Roman product. Notwithstanding some foreign importations, the decemviral code is truly indigenous in its spirit and as a whole; as a science, however, Roman law borrowed its principles from Greece. The brevity of the Twelve Tables, the confusion introduced into legislation by the diversity of the prætorian edicts (*lex annua*), the difficulty of mastering the formulæ and allegorical pantomimes used in legal proceedings,[3] had already produced a class of men who devoted themselves to the explanation of the laws. Coruncanius, the first

[1] Cic., *de Orat.*, ii. 55. [He refers to the wax masks worn by mutes in state dress at funerals.]

[2] He himself condemns the turgidity of certain passages, in the *pro Roscio* for example.

[3] There existed no more juridic secrets after S. Ælius Pætus had published, about the year 201, his book of the *Tripartites* or *jus Ælianum*, containing the text of the Twelve Tables, their interpretation, and the *legis actiones*. To establish one's right, it was necessary at first to perform certain *acts*: *manus injectio*, *manuum consertio*, *pignoris captio*, etc., and to pronounce certain *formulæ*. The *legis actiones* were abolished except in a few cases, by the Ebutian and Julian laws, whose date is uncertain. (Gaius, iv. 30; Aul. Gell., xvi. 10.) In the *pro Murena* (i. 12 and 13) Cicero ridicules the jurisconsults: "Busy as I am, if you urge me to it, in three days I will become a great jurisconsult;" but elsewhere he renders them full justice.

plebeian who attained, about the year 254, the grand pontificate, had founded the public instruction in jurisprudence, and Ælius Pætus, at the beginning of the second century before Christ had revealed all the secrets connected with the forms of justice. Following their example, a few of the most important citizens devoted themselves to this new cult, and the *responsa*[1] of the jurisconsults became a new source and perhaps the most abundant one, of Roman law.

The science thus taking shape from day to day in accordance with the needs of the moment, lacked a rational principle. In Greece, meantime, Chrysippus, the Stoic philosopher, had founded a theory of jurisprudence, proclaiming a natural law, "queen and sovereign of all things human and divine."[2] Men, being equal and social, he said, there existed between them necessary relations whence reason should deduce laws. The civil law, therefore, was no longer to be regarded as the effect of arbitrary agreements;[3] tradition, usage, texts, must no longer have an absolute authority, and the strange customs and imperative formulas of a forgotten juridic conflict, must be submitted to the reason. Scævola, the great jurisconsult, a Stoic like Chrysippus, whom we shall presently see playing a part in the tragedy of the Gracchi worthy of his eminent character, commenced this revolution in Rome. Cicero continued it in his magnificent definition of moral law. "There is a law which no man has written, but which is born in us, which we have neither learned from our teachers, nor received from our fathers, nor read in books; we have it from nature herself;[4] . . . . an immutable law, calling us to goodness by its commands, deterring us from evil by its threats, which neither senate nor people can abrogate. It is not one law at Rome and another at Athens; one to-day and another to-morrow. Eternal, unalterable, it rules at once all nations and all times."[5] Elsewhere, he says again: "The law is nature, and nature being such that all the human race are bound

[1] *Justitia cujus merito quis sacerdotes nos appellet.* (Ulpian, in the *Dig.*, I. i. 1.)

[2] Ὁ νόμος πάντων ἐστὶ βασιλεὺς θείων τε καὶ ἀνθρωπίνων πραγμάτων. (*Dig.*, I. iii. 2.)

[3] Cic., *de Fin. bon.*, iii. 20.

[4] *Pro Milone*, 4.

[5] *De Rep.*, iii. 22.

by a sort of civil right; he who respects that right is just; he who violates it is unjust." [1]

These were indeed novelties. The patricians, who had defended with such jealous zeal the evil laws of early days, might have shuddered in their tombs at such utterances. The Twelve Tables still remained a monument venerable for its antiquity; Ælius Pætus had just prepared an edition of them with commentaries; but the study of the pontifical law, that is to say, the religious part of the civil laws, had fallen into disuse,[2] to the great profit of jurisprudence, properly so called, for it was freed from the bonds which all religions seek to render immutable, and answered the developments of life by enlarging the narrow circle of legal precepts, and bringing into them at once more justice and more humanity.

Cicero reproaches Scævola with bringing legal advantages within reach of those who sought to withdraw themselves from the obligations of the *sacra gentilitia*.[3] The absolute authority of the father and of the husband was breaking down. The *remancipatio* permitted the woman to ask for divorce; and the *diffarreatio* broke even unions which the pontifex Maximus and the *flamen* of Jupiter had solemnized.[4] Finally, by successive developments of the theory of *peculium* (private property), and by the institution of the dowry, they went on to authorize the son and the wife to hold property independently of the head of the family, thus rendering possible what early Rome had never seen, a son summoning his father to appear in court.[5] If, however, the family tie was in a degree relaxed, it was not broken, and neither the son nor the wife were excused from any of their obligations of respect and obedience. With the increased liberty for individuals came also liberty in

[1] *De Finibus*, iii. 20 and 21. In chapter i. 5, he says again: "We must seek in the breast of philosophy the source of right, *penitus ex intima philosophia*."

[2] Cic., *de Orat.*, iii. 33.

[3] *De Leg.*, ii. 19–21; *de Orat.*, i. 56; and *Topic.*, 4, 6, where Scævola's definition of *gentiles* is found.

[4] See in Cicero (*ad Fam.*, viii. 7) the piquant letter of the clever Cælius. Marriages by *confarreatio* were growing rarer every day; and unions by simple consent took their place.

[5] They introduced also a new kind of guardianship, *genera tutorum quæ potestate feminarum continentur* (Cic., *pro Mur.*, 12), the testamentary tablets (Gaius, ii. 119; Ulpian, fr. 28, 6), and the *trustee*, until this time unknown to the Roman jurisprudence. To evade the Voconian law, an heir was appointed capable of inheriting legally, who made an agreement to transmit the inheritance to the person whom the law excluded.

respect to property: parallel with Quiritary ownership was placed *bonitary*, destined eventually entirely to supplant the former.[1]

Religious duties required that there should always be an heir established, so that the family sacrifices be never interrupted. On the other hand, the Twelve Tables had left the citizen the right to dispose of his property freely by gift or legacy. The Furian law (183) and the Voconian law (169) restricted this right, and the Falcidian law later (40) established the rule that not over three-fourths of an estate could be left as legacies. The Plætorian law protected against himself the citizen under twenty-five years of age,[2] establishing a severe penalty for creditors who had taken advantage of his inexperience.[3] The old law, *horrendum carmen*, did not contain these paternal precautions.

These serious jurisconsults, lovers of the past, but also lovers of justice, attained, by the influence of historic circumstances, much more than by the doctrines of Stoic philosophy, a more humane conception of law. The growth of the Republic had brought with it the development of ideas, and new social relations had called for new legal rules. The edicts of the governors of provinces, more especially those of the *prætor peregrinus*, founded necessarily upon the maxims of the *jus gentium*, which were more equitable than those of the *jus civile*, contributed much to this infiltration of the law of nations into the civil law. Those versed in law, and the magistrates themselves, favoured unconsciously the process of evolution, which was to substitute the broader spirit of universal citizenship for the narrow and jealous spirit of the Roman city.

This evolution is marked everywhere by the same sign, a breaking away from old methods. In legislation we see usage, *mos majorum*, formerly so powerful that it took the place of law, forced to yield more and more to logical deductions from new principles. Philosophy does not concern herself with public affairs,

[1] See in the Code (vii. 15) how scornfully Justinian speaks of Quiritary ownership, which he considers an *antiquæ subtilitatis ludibrium*, and in the *Digest* (xxxviii. 1, 3, § 2) the definition which Ulpian gives of *bonorum possessio*. Cf. Giraud, *Histoire des droits rom.*, and in the *Journal des savants*, of 1879, the treatise on *les Successions en droit romain*.

[2] The date of this law is uncertain, but was anterior to the *Pseudolus* of Plautus, in which it is mentioned (I. iii. 69).

[3] Cicero, *de Nat. deor.*, iii. 30. There was at this time *judicium publicum* against the creditor, while, twenty-five years earlier, the debtor complaining of a fraud had against his adversary only the *actio de dolo malo*; it was a private quarrel.

her business is with morals; vainly does comedy wear the pallium or the toga, in truth, she is neither of Athens nor of Rome; even when she copies characters and depicts manners, there is something general about her which cannot be shut in a city's walls. A slave in Plautus dares to say to his master the words which revolted serfs in the Middle Ages will repeat: "But I am a man like yourself;" [1] and Lucilius, a Roman of the old school, honours one of his slaves with a tomb and an epitaph: "Here lies a slave, faithful to his master, who never did harm to

The Games of the Circus.[2]

any person, Metrophanes, the dependent of Lucilius." Observe that where the citizen ceases, the man begins. By degrees, humanity comes in. Cicero utters the word later, and already Terence has written his famous line [received with acclamations]:

Homo sum, nihil humani a me alienum puto.

Thus we find, in this Roman transformation, together with the dissolution of the morals and religious faith of early times, those forces of renewal which were to make Rome the second and glorious stage of classic civilization. Unhappily, this transformation was not general. Whilst the nobles became Hellenised, the people remained in their native rudeness. They interested themselves little in these new arts, this dawning literature, which remained as it were a foreign importation, useful

[1] . . . . *Tam ego homo sum quam tu.* (*Asin.*, II. iv. 83.)

[2] From a sarcophagus in the museum of the Vatican, No. 456. See vol. i., p. 541, a bas-relief from the Louvre representing the same subject.

merely to amuse the minds of the great. Instead of that intelligent and vivacious people, which crowded the marble seats of the theatre of Dionysus, under the shadow of the Parthenon, and which caught the most delicate points, the Roman *plebs*, standing up in their wooden theatres, lent attention only to loose pantomime, to the coarse mimicry, which was the only debt of the poet to those whom Horace disrespectfully calls

Boar Hunt.[1]

asses. Twice the *Hecyra* of Terence was deserted by the spectators for a boxing match or a combat of gladiators.[2] "If Democritus were yet alive, says Horace, he would laugh to see the audience playing him a better comedy than the actors. And the author might as well relate his fiction to an ass—nay, to a deaf ass. And indeed, what stentor's voice could sound above the noises of our theatres? It is like the roar of the forests of Mount Garganus, or the waves of the Tyrrhenian Sea."[3]

[1] From a painting on the tomb of the Nasos, in the Flaminian way.

[2] The usage of gladiatorial combats was brought from Greece in 186 by Fulvius Nobilior. At the funeral games on the death of Valerius Lævinus in 200, twenty-five couples of gladiators fought. (Livy, xxxi. 50.) These games lasted four days, those of Fulvius Nobilior and Scipio Asiaticus continued for ten days. (Livy, xxxix. 22.) In 182, a law fixed the maximum of expense allowed for these games. But it shortly fell into disuse. Æmilius Scaurus exhibited, in 58, five crocodiles, a hippopotamus, and 150 panthers. (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, vii. 40, and Val. Max., II. iv. 6.) About the year 198, there was an ostrich race. As with us at the present day, dramatic acting on the stage was overlaid with all the effects of scenery. Of this Horace complained sharply. Before his time, Cicero had asked why, at the representation of *Clytemnestra*, an immense number of mules should be on the stage, and thousands of bucklers in *The Trojan Horse*, etc., etc.

[3] Horace, *Epist.*, II. i. 194, *seq.*

Among the nobles themselves, some, it is true, either retained, or affected to retain, the primitive rusticity of Roman manners. After the sack of Corinth, Mummius, seeing Attalus offer a great sum of money for a picture on which his soldiers were throwing dice, believed that the canvas had some mysterious virtue, and required it to be given up to him. When he sent his precious booty to Rome, he notified the pilot that any pictures or statues lost or damaged on the voyage must be replaced.[1] Anicius, the

Musicians.[2]

conqueror of Illyria, had no more refinement in his taste for music; he had called together upon one stage the most celebrated musicians of Greece; but, as they played the same air all together, he regarded this as a very unsatisfactory performance, and called

[1] Vell. Pat., i. 13. What is said of the barbarism of the Roman soldiers is but too true; Polybius (xl. 7) saw them throwing dice on the famous picture of Aristides, which represented Dionysus; but is the ignorance of Mummius equally well established? There were scholars in his family; his brother wrote from the camp of Corinth letters which a century later were valued for their cleverness, and Mummius himself gained the esteem of the Greeks by the respect he showed for their gods and their customs.

[2] Mosaic of Dioscorides at Pompeii. (Roux, *Herculanum et Pompéi*, vol. iii., pl. 124.)

out to them to play different airs, in order the better to earn their wages.[1]

Rome, therefore, in respect to art remained a semi-barbarous city,[2] notwithstanding the immense number of pictures and statues heaped in her temples and public squares and porticos. In vain did her consuls adorn her with the spoils of the world; in vain did they covet for her the beauty of Athens and Corinth; art,[3] brought home as part of the plunder, with the baggage of the army, became, on the banks of the Tiber, a mercenary labour, abandoned to the freedmen; and its nature is too noble to endure servitude; like poetry, it requires a lofty soul and free hands.

Sun-dial or Gnomon.[4]

The Romans were even less capable of science than of art. When a sun-dial was brought from Catana to Rome, in the year 263, no one ever suspected that the difference of three degrees in the longitude of the two cities ought to set the dial back at Rome, nor was it until a century later that this error was corrected. In 158, Scipio Nasica brought home the first water-clock by which the time of day could be marked in the absence of sun-shine. But a people who saw a sign from heaven in every natural phenomenon could not study nature for the purpose of discovering her laws. The verses of Lucretius did not prevent the Roman, when he heard the thunder rumbling overhead, from experiencing the same anxiety as the peasant of to-day, who makes the sign of the cross

[1] See the account of this grotesque scene in Polybius, xxx. 13.

[2] The city was not even paved until 174, the time when Fulvius and Postumius Albinus were censors.

[3] The artists and architects of the time were all of them Greeks. (Pol. xxx. 13; Livy, xxxix. 22.)

[4] Gnomon brought from Pergamus. Museum of the Louvre, No. 800 of the Clarac catalogue.

when he sees the flash of lightning. Furthermore, it was an easy task for the Roman religion to deter its believers from scrutinizing that world whose conquest the moderns have undertaken. And even if rebels against the gods of the Capitol did exist in Rome, still their early education had given their minds a bias on the subject which was never removed. These conquerors of the world used, moreover, to say to themselves that science and art were the share of the conquered, nay, even the cause of their defeat; and Virgil expresses a characteristically Roman sentiment when he says: "Let others make the bronze breathe and draw living forms from marble; let them plead eloquently, and expound the celestial motions, and the rising of the stars; but thou, Roman people, forget not that to govern the nations, to impose peace upon them, to humble the proud and spare the lowly, these are thy arts." [2]

Faunus with the Child, or Silenus and Bacchus.[1]

None ever knew as Rome did, how to conquer and to preserve

[1] We have no reason to doubt that this famous group, found in the sixteenth century in the place where were formerly the gardens of Sallust, and regarded as a work belonging to the school of Praxiteles, was brought to Rome among other spoils. (Museum of the Louvre, Fröhner, No. 250, and Clarac, No. 609.)

[2] *Æneid*, vi. 847–853.

her conquests, but in the matter of civilization she was always superficial. The higher portion of society alone became enlightened, and this very enlightenment, not penetrating to the lower strata, merely widened the gulf between the rich and the poor. Hence this mingling in the same people of elegance and coarseness, or scepticism and superstition, of lofty studies and of savage amusements, of austerity in some, and nameless debauchery in others. To-day in the social body the plebeian blood for ever rises and renews the impoverished vitality of the governing classes. In Rome, at the time which we are now considering, this was no longer the case; between the great and the humble there was, as we shall show, an abyss, into which the Republic was destined to fall.

[1] Rome armed with the ægis, and seated upon the Capitoline rock, a symbol of the solidity of her power. (Museum of the Louvre, Nos. 1 and 2 of the Clarac catalogue.)

Rome, Mistress of the World.[1]

CHAPTER XXXVI.

CHANGES IN THE CONDITIONS OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL LIFE.

I.—Apparent Stability of the Constitution.

IN the preceding pages we have examined the influence that Greece and the East and the new conditions of Roman life exerted upon private morals and manners, upon religion, literature, and jurisprudence. We shall now consider the effect of all these wars and conquests upon the social and political condition of Rome.

Two centuries of battles, in giving to Rome Italy and ten provinces, had constituted an empire that could no longer be governed by the orators of the *conciones* or the crowd of the Forum. The wider the sway extended the more centralized the government necessarily became, and it had passed naturally from the *comitium* to the *curia*, from the people to the senate, without abdication on the one hand or usurpation on the other. It cannot be too often repeated that historic circumstances end by creating a force which drives societies towards a future they had not dreamed of. Thus it happened at Rome. What would have been the astonishment of the founders of republican equality if they could have seen these plebeians, for whom they had fought so often, becoming a debased multitude, indifferent to public affairs, and these patricians, whom they had condemned to the division of their rights, recovering a power and a fortune well-nigh regal.

And yet, on the surface, all things seemed to remain in their former condition. "The second Punic war," says Sallust, "had put an end to civil discords."[1] Peace and union prevailed in the city; the people were docile, the senate moderate, the

[1] De Brosses, *Hist. de la Rép. rom.*, vol. i. p. 260.

tribunes pacific, and the powerful and peaceful Republic seemed advancing towards a long and brilliant future. The sovereignty still was vested in the people, assembled in *comitia* by centuries and by tribes, the centuries appointing the higher magistrates and exercising jurisdiction in grave criminal cases, the tribes electing the inferior magistrates and judging in causes of secondary importance, both making laws and *plebiscita* equally obligatory upon all citizens. The rich had the majority in the centuries, and if the city tribes, where the common people and the freedmen had the majority, escaped from their leadership, the possession of vast domains restored to them their influence in the rural tribes, so that unless some popular feeling united all the poorer classes in one opinion, the rich disposed of thirty-one out of thirty-five votes. But these popular excitements, destined later to become formidable, were at the time of which we speak becoming every day more unfrequent. Vainly did Flaminius and Varro, at the beginning of the second Punic war, seek to reanimate the old disputes. The tribunes, formerly party chiefs, were now members of the government, and respected in the senate, which they could convoke by their own authority, like a consul.[1] Therefore they were upon the side of order, justice, and morality. In 198 Porcius Lecca compelled a prætor to renounce an ovation which he had unjustly obtained from the senate.[2] Flamininus offered himself as a candidate for the consulship on the expiration of his term of office as quæstor; the tribunes opposed this in the name of the law, and later, when he had justified the confidence of the people by his services, they caused him to continue in the command that he held, notwithstanding the opposition of the consuls. Two generals, long left in Spain, instigated a *plebiscitum*, which recalled them.[3] A consul was anxious to recommence the war with Philip immediately after the battle of Cynoscephalæ, and the tribunes opposed their *veto*;[4] many times they humiliated the consular authority, and once they went so far as to threaten with imprisonment the two censors then in office.[5]

[1] It is not known in what year they gained possession of this important right, *jus referendi*, but they were in possession of it as early as 216. (Livy, xxii. 61.)

[2] Livy, xxxii. 7. [3] Livy, xxxi. 50. [4] Livy, xxxiii. 25.

[5] Livy, xliii. 16. Twice they imprisoned consuls.

Their power was great, for they could by the *plebiscita* and by their *veto* do or stop anything. Their authority was not contested because they who had been chiefs of the plebeians sat now among the rulers of the entire people, and the Voleros of an earlier day had become nobles in this. Thus we see the most illustrious persons held the office of tribune—Marcellus, Fulvius, Nobilior, Calpurnius Piso, who was afterwards twice consul, Semp. Gracchus, censor, twice consul and general honoured with a triumph, Metellus Numidicus, Ælius Pætus, and Scævola, the great jurisconsult. Rendered illustrious by names like these, the tribuneship of the time had no longer the revolutionary character it once possessed. It was a high magistracy to which were due the best laws of the time—the *Villia* (180), the *Voconia* (169), the *Orchia* (181), the institution of permament tribunals (149), the establishment of the ballot and of constant accusations against *prevaricators*.[1] Faithful to their origin and to the policy which had rendered Rome so strong, they asked in 188 for the right of suffrage for Fundi, Formiæ, and Arpinum, the future birthplace of Marius and of Cicero. For the soldiers of Scipio and for the veterans of the second Punic war the tribunes obtained grants of land;[3] they caused the sale of corn at a low price to the people;[4] and in the space of twenty years they were instrumental in founding twenty-three colonies.[5] At their instigation the ædiles prosecuted the farmers of the public pasture lands, the usurers and their Italian confederates.[6] Finally, the

Porcius Lecca.[2]

[1] [*Prevaricating* was collusion with an adversary in a suit.—*Ed.*] For all these laws, see in § iii. of the thirty-seventh chapter, on the censorship of Cato. In the year 142 a prætor, allowing himself to be bribed by men accused of murder, was prosecuted by the tribune Scævola and compelled to go into exile, where he soon after put an end to his life. It was also a tribune, Scribonius, who proposed the law to restore their liberty to the Lusitanians sold by Galba. (Livy, *Epit.*, xlix.)

[2] PROVOCO. Magistrate extending his hand over a Roman citizen; behind, a lictor armed with rods. Reverse of a coin of the Porcian family.

[3] Livy, xxxi. 4, 49, xxxii. 1.

[4] Livy, xxx. 26, xxxi. 4, 50, xxxiii. 42.

[5] Livy, *passim*, beginning at xxxii. 29; let us remember that the citizens paid no tax while they were under the flag (*ibid.*, iv. 60, v. 10), and that even the priests were subject to the war-tax. (*Ibid.*, xxxiii. 52.)

[6] *Multos pecuarios damnarunt* (Livy, xxxv. 10); *multos pecuarios ad populi judicium adduxerunt* (xxxiii. 42). See (xxxv. 7) the plebiscitum of the tribune Semp. Gracchus, which extended the Roman laws upon usury to citizens of the allied towns.

Valerian law was again solemnly renewed, the tribune Porcius Lecca obtaining a decree in 198 that no citizen should be beaten with rods.[1]

Meanwhile, as the constitution was not written, it yielded according to circumstances to the encroachments of the senate, as well as of the tribunes, and the people sometimes saw the power of their chiefs checked by a senatus-consultum. In the year 190 Livy tells us of a tribune whose opposition was annulled by the senate.[2] This uncertainty of the magistrates and the great governing bodies as to the limits of their authority, this facility which all possessed of verging upon the arbitrary, was a danger for liberty. During a century it was the wisdom of the one side, the moderation of the other, and mutual concessions, which saved public order.

The senate indeed, notwithstanding the kind of dictatorship with which the dangers of the second Punic war had invested it, preserved a respect for the popular body which deluded men into the belief that the early constitution was yet in force. Two consuls being rivals for the command in Africa before the battle of Zama, the Conscript Fathers referred the question to the people.

In 209 a plebeian solicited for the first time the office of grand curio; repulsed by the patricians, he appealed to the tribunes, who far from supporting him, referred the affair to the senate. The higher assembly declined, and the tribunes, conquered in this new kind of strife, were compelled to let the people decide. On their part the people, in the affair of the Campanians, after Capua had been recovered from Hannibal, had made the following decree: "That which the senate, by a majority of votes, has determined, we also will and decree."[3] Finally, in the election of Flamininus, the senate, extending the popular rights in spite of the tribunes, maintained that the power which made the laws

[1] Livy, x. 9: *Virgas ab omnium civium Romanorum corpere amovit.* (Cic., *pro Rab.*, 3, 4. Cf. *de Rep.*, ii. 31.)

[2] *Senatus tribunum plebis auctoritate sua compulit ad remittendam intercessionem.* (Livy, xxxvi. 40.) In regard to the *auctoritas patrum*, Cf. Livy, xxxix. 30; after the battle of Cannæ it was the senate who appointed the dictator. (Livy, xxii. 57.)

[3] Livy, xxvi. 33, xxvii. 1, 8, and xxxvii. 8. On the subject of this good understanding, see also xxxvii. 86, and, in general, from xxvi. to xlii.

could excuse from the keeping of them. A few years later, after the conquest of Macedon, the senate declared that the treasury had no longer need of the citizen taxes.[1]

The senators filled all judicial offices, but they were only anxious as yet to render exact and speedy justice. Rather arbitrators than judges in the *judicia privata* or civil cases, they could be changed at will by the parties to the suit.[2] In respect to jurisprudence, if it was no longer a mystery, it remained at least a science rendered difficult by the multiplicity of laws and edicts. The schools opened by jurisconsults were not enough to popularize the study of the law, but the pleader was no longer at the mercy of his judge.

The people, therefore, did not seem to have been deprived of any of their prerogatives; they preserved, as in the past, the right of sentencing to death, exile, or banishment, of appointing to public offices, of determining peace, war, and alliances. In seeing the extent of their rights and the boundless authority of their tribunes, Polybius was led to say that some day this people, abusing their power, would overthrow the State, and that the Roman republic would end in a demagogy.[3]

The constitution was so little changed in its external forms, a few years before the time of the Gracchi, that in the eyes of the same writer who prophesied its destruction it appeared still the most perfect government the world had known. There existed even, in spite of a good deal of scepticism, an apparent respect for the early religious forms. Prodigies were as numerous and grotesque as ever, that is to say, the people and the soldiers were as ignorant and credulous. The generals vowed temples, but like Sempronius Gracchus, in order to engrave upon them the story of their exploits or to paint their victories. They sacrificed a great number of victims before the action, but like Paulus Æmilius, in order to restrain the impatience of the soldiers and to await the favourable

[1] Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xxxiii. 17. The payment of a twentieth upon sale or enfranchisement of slaves was still, however, retained, and the *portorium*, or customs tax, was not abolished till the year 62.

[2] Cic., *pro Cluent.*, 43, § 120. The *judicia privata* dealt also with certain crimes: . . . . *veluti si quis furtum fecerit, bona rapuerit, damnum dederit, injuriam commiserit.* (Gaius, *Inst.*, iii. 182.)

[3] Pol., vi. 57, 9.

moment.[1] They gravely watched the sky before the comitia met and during the session, but in order to reserve to themselves the means of dissolving that assembly, *obnuntiatio*, if the votes seemed likely to oppose the senate's designs. "When Paulus Æmilius," says his biographer, "had obtained the office of augur, he studied the ancient rites thoroughly, and then allowed himself no innovation or omission however trivial. Even although the divinity might be indulgent, he said, and willing to pardon these negli-

A Sacrifice.[2]

gences, *yet it would be fatal to the Republic to authorize them.*" The tribunes even now took auspices, and later Cicero invoked, like Paulus Æmilius, reasons of State for legitimating the augural

[1] At Pydna, the legions having the rising sun in their eyes, Paulus Æmilius made twenty-one sacrifices until the day had turned.

[2] A sacrifice of two bulls. The ten personages are clothed in Roman style; the *limus*, a sort of shirt worn by the assistants at sacrifices, is bordered with fringe, and the girdle, *licium*, goes many times around the waist; a *camillus* holds the *acerra*, or box of perfumes; the priests wear wreaths on their heads, one carries a torch to light the fire upon the altar. Bas-relief in the Museum of the Louvre, No. 772 *bis* of the Clarac catalogue.

science, reduced to an instrument in the hands of politicians. This people of formalists remained attached to the outward signs of things rather than to their true meaning; in the time of Cæsar a certain Metellus caused an assembly to be broken up by lowering the flag on the Janiculum.

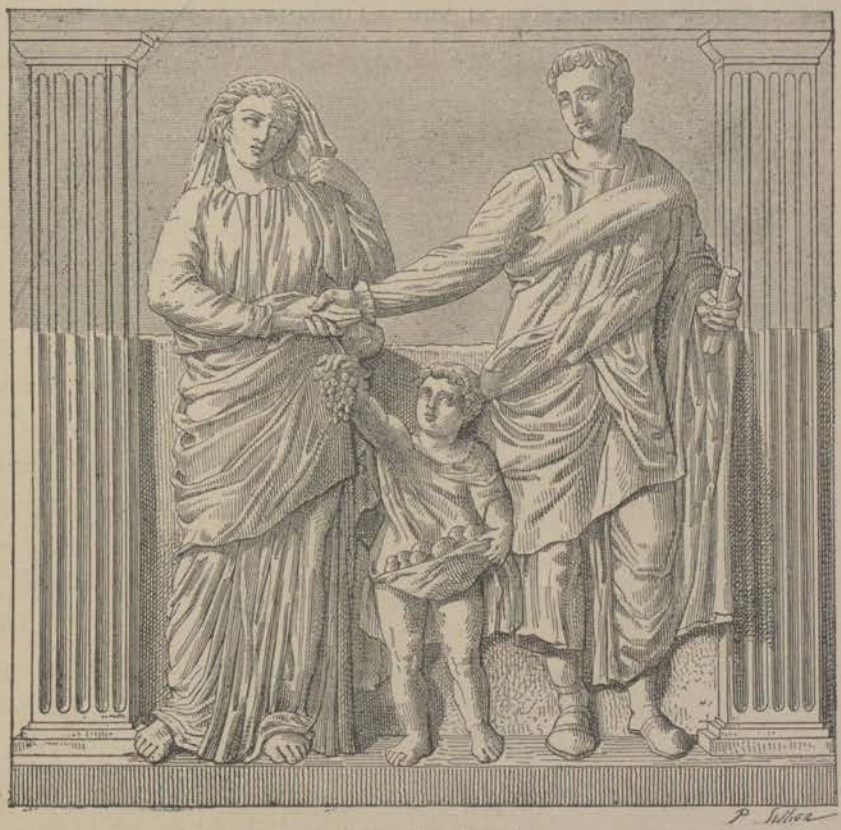
Thus the Republic lasted, and yet liberty was dying. The people were not oppressed, and yet they were in a state of frightful distress; the census indicated a larger population than ever, yet soldiers could not be obtained in sufficient number. The social conditions had changed, while the laws remained the same, and the constitution was but a hollow form whence the life had departed; the Roman people was already, as Catiline said later, a body without a head, a head without a body—an immense crowd of poor whom the old law refused to admit into the legions, and far above them, a few nobles, richer and more haughty than kings. A century of wars, of pillage, and of corruption had devoured the class of small proprietors to whom Rome owed her strength and her liberty. This is the great fact of this period and the cause of all the tempests that were to follow; for, with this class disappeared patriotism, discipline, and the austere morality of early days; with it perished the equilibrium of the State, which henceforth, given up to the sanguinary vicissitudes of parties, oscillated between the tyranny of the multitude and the tyranny of the great, until the day when all, nobles and proletariat, rich and poor, found rest under a master.

II.—New Social Conditions.

Many facts reveal this disappearance of the middle class. It alone furnished soldiers to the legions, and from the year 188 Livy[1] confesses that there was much difficulty in completing nine legions. In 151, Lucullus, had it not been for the devotion of Scipio Æmilianus, could not have made the levies required for the army in Spain,[2] and a few years later C. Gracchus was obliged to

[1] xl. 36: *is ipse exercitus ægre explebatur:* Cf. *ib.*, xli. 21: *delectus consulibus difficilior.*
[2] Polybius, xxxv. 4

forbid the enlistment of soldiers less than seventeen years of age.[1] The census of the year 159 gave 338,314 citizens;[2] it was not the number of legionaries that had increased, but of *proletarii*, whom a well-founded distrust kept out of the army.[3] The census itself



Roman Marriage.[4]

diminished; in 131 it indicated only 317,823 citizens,[5] and the

[1] Plutarch, in his *Life of Caius Gracchus.*

[2] Livy, *Epit.*, xlvii. The censors prepared lists, first of those who might be called active citizens, that is, who served or could serve in the legions, then of inhabitants not comprised in the tribes, the *orbi, orbæ,* and *viduæ,* represented by their *tutores,* and lastly, the *ærarii,* or citizens *sine suffragio,* which were inscribed upon the *tabulæ cæritumæ.*

[3] The *proletarii* were never regularly enrolled till the time of Marius. Before that time they were armed only in exceptional cases. (Orosius, iv. 1; Cass. Hemina, *ap.* Non., s.v. *proletarii;* Aulus Gellius, xvi.; Justus Lipsius, *de Mil. Rom.*, i. 2.) In the time of which we are writing those had less than 400 drachmæ served in the fleet. (Polybius, vi. 18.)

[4] Bas-relief from the Louvre, No. 492 of the Clarac catalogue. The woman is half veiled with her ample *palla,* or mantle. The *læna* that the husband wears over his tunic suggests that he is a flamen. (Cic., *Brut.*, 14.) The child offering a bunch of grapes is doubtless an emblem of prosperity.

[5] According to Livy, in the year 200 there were but six legions; from 199 to 195, eight;

censor, Metellus, alarmed, proposed in a singular address to compel all celibates to marry;[1] "Romans," he said, "if it were possible to do without wives great cares would be spared us, but since nature has so arranged that we cannot live comfortably with a wife nor live without her, we ought to regard the perpetuity of the State more than our own satisfaction." It would seem from the concluding words of his discourse that he regarded this resignation to marriage as a virtue, which the gods did not give, but would recompense;[2] and he was right in believing it. Later, in consequence of many concessions of the right of citizenship, the census enumerated 540,000. But it was then that Livy makes the sad avowal: "Rome, which levied twenty-three legions for war against Hannibal, could to-day arm only eight."

The class of small proprietors was, then, disappearing, but what were the causes of this revolution, which went on without exciting notice? Since the day when Hannibal crossed the Ebro, war had unremittingly decimated the military population; 40,000 Romans at least were always on military service, that is to say, an eighth of the whole population and a fourth part perhaps of those liable to be enrolled. In recent years, among modern powers, the proportion has been one soldier to every 100 inhabitants, and he even serves but five or six years. At Rome the proportion was one in eight,[3] and like Ligustinus, the soldier might be twenty-three times enrolled.[4] So active a service must have been extremely destructive, and the losses falling upon a limited class, this class must of necessity have decreased rapidly. In this way the long wars of Charlemagne contributed to exhaust the class of free men in the empire of the Franks. After his time there remained only feudal lords on the one side and serfs on the other, as at Rome

in 195, ten; in 194, eight; in 192 and 191, twelve; the two years following, fourteen; then thirteen, ten, and eight, until the war with Perseus. Then each legion consisted of *sena millia peditum, trecenos equites.* (Livy, xliv. 21.)

[1] Livy, *Epit.*, lix.

[2] *Immortales virtutem approbare non adhibere debent.* (Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Att.*, i. 6.)

[3] The consuls, having the right to choose the legionaries, selected them by preference from the rustic tribes. In estimating at 160,000 or 180,000 men, the number of the inhabitants among whom the consuls made their levies, it is believed we are above the truth rather than below it.

[4] Even more; from the age of seventeen to that of forty-five the Roman could not refuse his name for enrolment. A man could present himself as candidate for an office only after having served in ten campaigns. (Polybius, vi. 18.)

after the conquest of Africa, Greece, and Asia, there were only nobles and proletarii.

A thing more murderous, however, than battles or forced marches, than privations and abrupt changes of climate, than diseases even, or the enemy's sword, was the destructive effect of camp life upon the morals of the soldiery. To the eyes of many, military service had become no longer a civic duty, but a lucrative trade. When the expedition promised booty the consuls always found plenty of volunteers.[1] Men who were poor one day become rich and prosperous the next; naturally they preferred to the rude labours of the peasant and his dull, monotonous life the sudden changes in the terrible game of war, its privations, but also its pleasures, and the excesses following upon victory. The State furnishing them with provisions, clothing,[2] and food, they substituted a careless prodigality for the prudent and sparing habits of the husbandman. In case of being disbanded and obliged to resume the spade and return to daily labour and a life of sobriety, they were alarmed and decamped to Rome to join the servile crowd of clients hanging about their former chief. In vain land was offered to them; they would not have it. The senate sent them out as colonists to Antium, Tarentum, Locri, Sipontum, Buxentum, and many other places; after a few years they had all run away.[3] Even the Gracchi found no supporters in this idle crowd, who left them to perish without attempting a rescue. When the enemy was

[1] When it was known that Africanus would accompany his brother into Asia, 5,000 volunteers at once presented themselves. (Livy, xxxvii. 4.) In 171 there was a crowd of them: *quia locupletes videbant qui priore Macedonico bello aut adversus Antiochum in Asia stipendia facerant.* (*Ib.*, xlii. 32.) War was so truly now become a trade that the plays of Plautus are full of the military braggarts, certainly not altogether borrowed from Greece. Not a soldier does he bring upon the stage who is not of this species. "If I were not overbearing," says Simmia in *Pseudolus*, v. 908, "would they take me to be a soldier (*stratioticus homo*)?"

[2] This was regularly established for the first time by Caius Gracchus.

[3] A consul found Sipontum and Buxentum completely deserted. (Livy, xxxix. 23.)

[4] From the Louvre, No. 751 Clarac catalogue. This great composition contains twenty-one personages and three animals; it shows the details of the ceremonies accompanying the census. The *suovetaurilia* are about to be performed; the assistants lead and restrain the bull, the ram and the boar. The *censor*, seated in a curule chair, receives the declarations which a scribe writes down; the citizen, who is in the act of being registered, holds in his hand the tablet on which is the statement of his property, determining the class to which he belongs. Further on are two soldiers and a warrior, who by his rich armour and his ample *paludamentum* may be regarded as a military chief. Near the altar are musicians, always present at ceremonies of this kind, a young girl who covers her head with a veil, and a young man who pours lustral water into the *patera* which the priest holds out to him.

The Census (Sacrifices).

The Census (Registering). See note on last page.

near Rome campaigns were short, and the soldier, becoming quickly a citizen again, after a few days of absence, returned to his wife and children and to his work. Now the legionaries, who a little later will resent being called citizens, *Quirites*, pass from fifteen to twenty years in camps or far-off garrisons; they have no families, they live unmarried, and if their general does not bring them

Hero, called the Fighting Gladiator, found at Antium.[1]

with him on his return to Rome, they remain in the province, soon losing whatever of Roman virtues they may yet possess.[2] What a number of these did Mithridates find in Asia!

In the case of those whom the service restored to Italy, other causes were efficient in driving them from their fields into the city. The progress of luxury and the abundance of the precious

[1] Louvre, 262, Clarac catalogue.

[2] All the army of Gabinius remained in Egypt. (Cæs., *de Bello civ.*, iii. 110.) See further Cæsar's war in Africa, and in Livy (xliii. 3) the enlistment of 4,000 men established in Carteia.

metals having suddenly raised the prices of things,[1] the same amount of money which once gave a respectable competence now was not enough to save from poverty. When Cnæus Scipio, at the beginning of the second Punic war, desired to be recalled from Spain for the purpose of giving his daughter in marriage, the senate assumed the responsibility of providing a suitable husband for her, and gave her a dowry of 11,000 *ases*.[2] A few years after the battle of Zama twenty-five talents had come to be regarded as a very small dowry, even in a family of the old school, because many no longer took account of the virtues of the bride.[3]

Thus every day wants increased, and every day also—at least for the poor, who had the perils, but not the durable profits of conquest—the means of satisfying these wants diminished. Whatever [Polybius and] Tacitus may have said[4] upon this subject, Italy was not, except in certain districts, remarkably fertile, or rather it was exhausted by long cultivation and lack of manuring; at all events, in the period with which we are concerned, if exception is made of certain favoured districts in Etruria, Magna Grecia, and the plain of the Po, the harvest produced not more than four or fivefold. Moreover, a bad system in respect to fallow ground, expenses of culture that were enormous on account of the imperfect methods

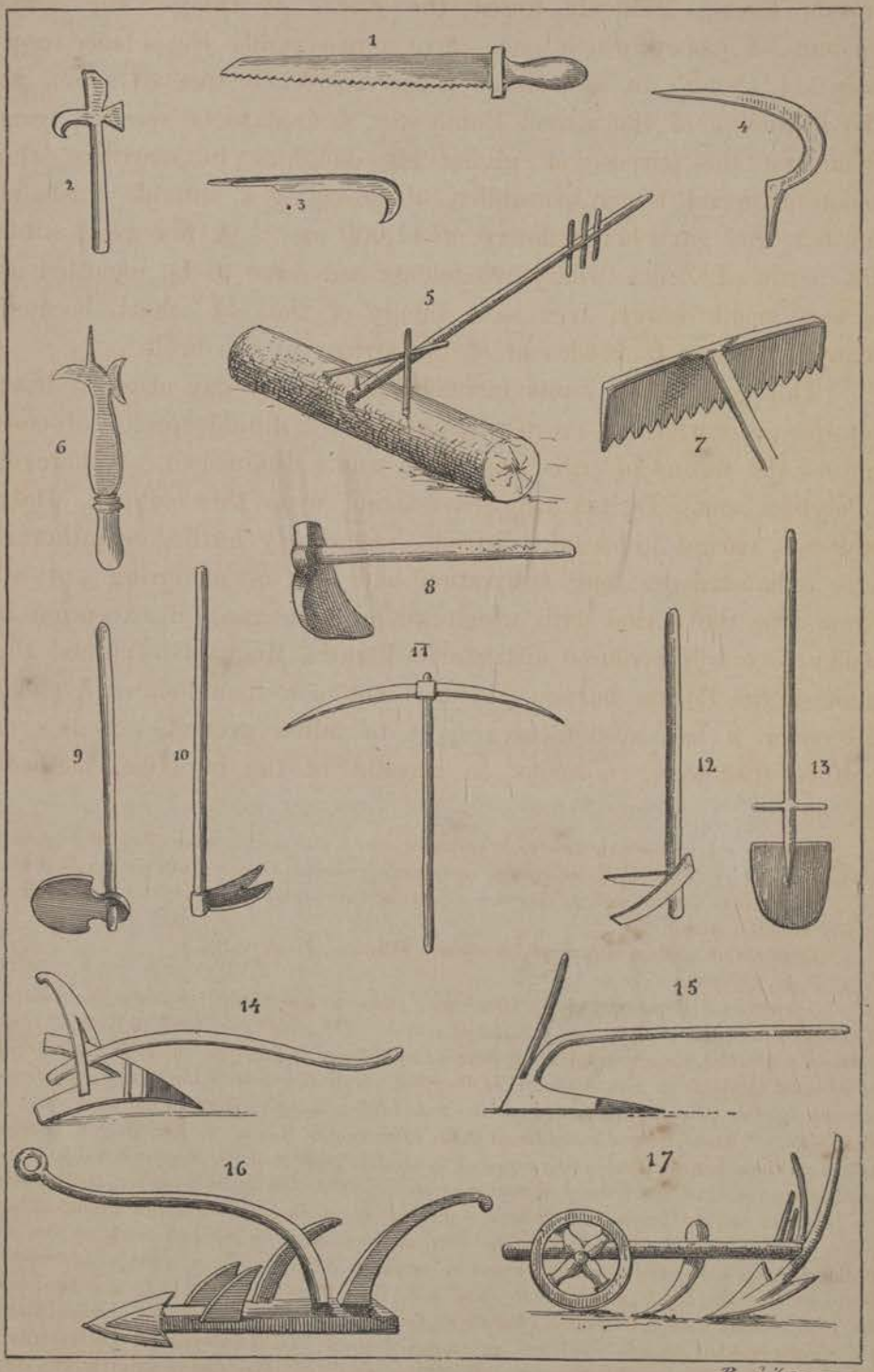
[1] *Ταχὺ τὰς τούτων τιμὰς εἰς ἄπιστον ὑπερβολὴν ἤγαγεν. Τοῦ μὲν γὰρ οἴνου τὸ κεράμιον ἐπωλεῖτο δραχμῶν ἑκατὸν, τῶν δὲ Ποντικῶν ταρίχων τὸ κεράμιον δραχμῶν τετρακοσίων.* (Diod., xxxvii. 3.)

[2] Seneca says that in his time this sum would not have sufficed the daughter of a freedman to buy herself a mirror.

[3] *Dum dos sit, nullum vitium vitio vortitur.* (Plautus, *Persa*, v. 387.)

[4] *Ann.*, xii. 43.

[5] Agricultural implements:—1. Hand-saw, from a bas-relief. (*Serrula manubriata.*) 2. *Dolabella*, a kind of axe, from a funereal marble. (Mazocchi, *de Ascia*, p. 179.) 3. *Falx arboraria sylvatica*, a common bill-hook, from a model found at Pompeii. 4. *Falx stramentaria et messoria*, sickle, from a model found at Pompeii. 5. Roller to level the ground. (Fellows, *Travels in Asia Minor*, p. 70.) 6. Pruning knife (*falx vinitoria*), from an old manuscript of Columella. 7. Rake, from a model found in the catacombs of Rome. 8. *Ascia*, a short-handled hoe, from the column of Trajan (the *zappa* of the Italian peasants). 9. *Sarculum*, a lighter and smaller hoe than the *ligo*, from a Roman bas-relief. 10. *Bidens*, or two-toothed *ligo*, a heavy hoe, from an engraved stone. 11. *Securis*, a pick-axe resembling our own, from a funereal bas-relief. (Stat., *Syl.*, ii. 2, 87.) 12. *Capreolus*, an implement to stir and break up the soil (Columella, xi. 3, 46), from an old Florentine carving. 13. *Bipalium*, a spade with cross-bar (Cato, *de Re rust.*, 45, 2; Varro, *de Re rust.*, i. 37, 5; Columella, xi. 3, 11), from a bas-relief. 14. Plough-share with forked back (*dentale duplici dorso*), from a model still in use in Italy. 15. Simple wooden ploughshare, from an engraved stone. 16. Improved plough (*aratrum*), from a bas-relief discovered in the peninsula of Magnesia. 17. Wheeled plough (*currus*), from an engraved stone. (Fig. 438 of Saglio's *Dict. des Antiq. grecq. et rom.*; Caylus, *Rec. d'Antiq.*, vol. v. pl. lxxxiii. 6; Cf. Rich, *Greek and Roman Antiq., passim.*)



Agricultural Implements (see p. 298, n. 5).

employed, the use of tools requiring four times the number of labourers we employ, the miserable condition of the country roads, which were nothing more than bridle-paths, impassable for wheeled vehicles, reducing the transportation to such loads as could be carried on the back of a horse or ass to the city or the sea, and finally, the prohibition of the export of corn out of Italy rendered

Goat-herd.[1]

this tillage burdensome, and led those who had grain-lands to regard themselves as unfortunate.

Cato places this kind of property in the sixth rank, and classes above it vineyards, olive trees, and grass-lands. These latter became more extensive every year, for the reason that the holders of public lands having no real ownership, were not willing to build or plant, and because, moreover, the return was very considerable. The pastures supported a great number of sheep, furnishing wool, of which all garments were made, milk, cheese, and lambs, which with pork, made then, as now, the staple of the Italian cuisine for fête days.

[1] Miniature in the MS. *Virgil of the Vatican.*

Their habitual diet was vegetable—corn, barley, and millet, with the addition of figs, grapes, olives, radishes, and garlic; upon the coast, shell-fish; in the interior, salt-fish; upon rich farms, goats, chickens, pigeons, and hares; everywhere they consumed much wine and oil, so that we may say that these two staples, with wool, were the chief products of Italian industry, and as such they were long protected by a law forbidding the Transalpine nations to plant vines or olive trees.[1] But the manufacture of wine and oil are agricultural industries which require capital and labour in order to be productive. The rich alone possessed these, and the petty farmer, who once fed the city of Rome, had no longer anything to bring to that vast market whence his corn was driven out by the African, Sicilian, and Sardinian harvests, cultivated to better advantage by the help of droves of slaves in more fertile soil, a market whence his other produce was undersold by that of the great landowners.

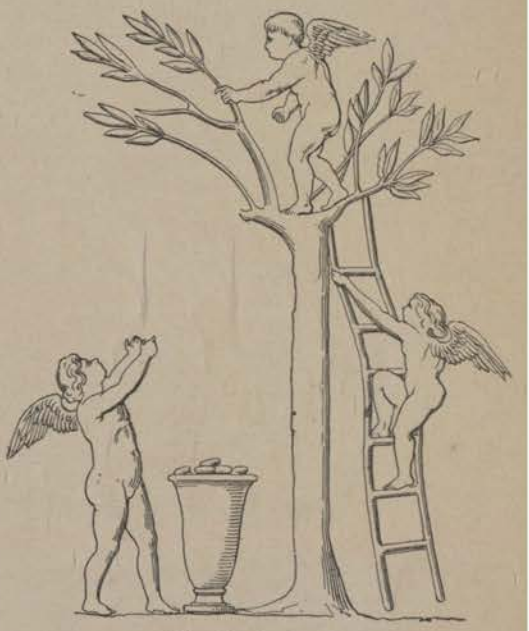
A Shepherdess and her Flock.[2]

In modern times the equilibrium is preserved by diversity in the sources of fortune, no single class having a monopoly of them. Farmers, manufacturers, merchants, constantly replenish that middle class, which is the surest guardian of liberty. At Rome, where mercantile affairs were in the hands of great companies served by armies of slaves, and manufactures were carried on by a multitude

[1] *Transalpinas gentes oleam et vitem serere non sinimus, quo pluris sint nostra oliveta nostræque vineæ.* (Cic., *de Rep.*, iii. 9.)

[2] From a Pompeian painting. (Roux, *Herculanum et Pompéi*, vol. iii. pl. 5, 5th Series.)

of foreigners and freedmen, there was for the individual only one path open, the ownership of land and the pursuit of agriculture, but the land was diminishing in value every day, and the farmers' industry becoming less, and hence the comfort of the people diminished also. From narrow circumstances to actual want the step is but short. If a man would have recourse to borrowing money the rate charged was enormous,[1] in spite of the surveillance of the ædiles: we shall see that Brutus lent money at 48 per cent. Since the year 169 citizens had been, it is true, relieved from the land-tax, but this tax falling chiefly upon the rich, it was they who chiefly profited by its suppression.



Olive Gathering.[2]

Moreover, these rich did not always respect the possessions of the poor. After having, as prætors or consuls, pillaged the world in time of war, the nobles in time of peace pillaged as governors their subjects, and returning to Rome with vast wealth[3] employed it in changing the modest heritage of their fathers into domains vast as provinces. The *lex Claudia* forbidding mercantile pursuits to senatorial families, a great amount of capital was thrown

[1] Cicero says that in his time the interest demanded at Rome was as high as 34 per cent., and in the country 48; in his *Ep. ad Fam.*, v. 6: "There is a fortune to be made only by those who lend at 50 per cent." (Cf. Plautus, *Curcul.*, v. 516; *Epidicus*, v. 52: *In dies minasque argenti singulas numis.* Cf. also Cic., *ad Brut.*, 31.

[2] From a gem. The vintage is similarly represented in a bas-relief of the Ince-Blundell collection and in a Roman mosaic. (*Pict. cript., tav.*, 24, published by Rich, *Greek and Roman Antiquities.*

[3] Cicero himself, who was by no means one of the richest men in Rome, purchased a house for 3,500,000 *sesterces.* (*ad Fam.*, v. 6.) P. Crassus possessed £4,000,000. (Corn. Nep., *Att.*, 5.) Sallust (*Cat.*, 12–13): *Domos atque villas in urbium modum exædificatas . . . . a privatis compluribus subversos montes, maria constrata.* Cornelia's house at Misenum had cost her 75,000 drachmæ; the price of country-houses went up so rapidly that Lucullus paid for the same 500,000. (Plut., *Mar.*, 35.)

into landed property, and the formation of the *latifundia* was stimulated. These "landlords" were eager to enclose within their grounds lakes, forests, and mountains. Where a hundred families had once lived in comfort, one now found itself cramped. To add to his park, the ex-consul bought the old soldier's field or the lands of the impoverished peasant, and soldier and peasant alike hastened to squander in the taverns of Rome the trifling sum received for the sale. Not infrequently the great man took, and paid nothing.[1] An old writer represents an unfortunate man at law with a rich neighbour because the latter, annoyed by the bees of the poor man, had destroyed them. The poor man protested that he had been willing to change his place of abode and establish his hives elsewhere, but that nowhere could he find a small piece of land without having some rich man for a neighbour. "The powerful men of our time," says Columella, "have estates so large that they cannot make the circuit of them in a day on horseback;" and an old Italian inscription shows that an aqueduct nine miles in length traversed the domains of only six proprietors.[2] In the whole territory of Leontini, in Sicily, there were only eighty-three proprietors; in that of Herbita, 257; of Agyrium, 250; of Motye, 188.[3] Rabirius found no difficulty in lending on a sudden to a fugitive prince 100,000,000 *sesterces*, and another publican said, "I have more gold than three kings."[4] It was with private fortunes as with States, a vigorous centralization brought all the land into the possession of a few powerful men.[5]

[1] *Parentes aut parvi liberi militum ut quisque potentiori confinis erat, sedibus pellebantur.* (Sall., *Jug.*, 41.) Cf. Seneca, *Ep.*, 90; the spurious Quintilian, *Decl.*, 13; and Horace, *Carm.*, II. xviii. 26: *Pellitur paternos in sinu ferens deos.* See remarks, vol. i. p. 397, on the effects of the withdrawal of the *jus commercii* from the Italians.

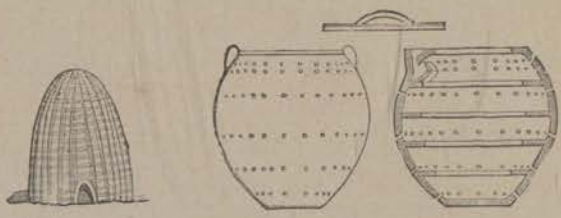
[2] Dureau de la Malle, ii. 221.

[3] Cic., *II in Verr.*, iii. 51. Cæsar relates (*de Bello civ.*, i. 16) that Domitius, who had thirty-three cohorts, *militibus pollicetur ex suis possessionibus quaterna in singulos jugera.*

[4] Cic., *pro Rabir.*, and Hor., *Sat.*, II. i. 6.

[5] The same is to-day the evil of Rome. Prince Borghese possesses 55,000 acres in the Roman country, the Duke Sforza Cesarini 28,000, the princes Pamphili and Chigi 15,000, the Chapter of St. Peter's and the hospital Spirito Santo still more. A hundred and thirteen Roman families hold 315,000 acres, and sixty-four corporations divide amongst them 180,000. (Fulchiron, *Voyage dans l'Italie méridionale.*) [It is very much worse in Calabria, where absentee nobles own whole tracts of country. In fact, nowhere in Europe are the evils of the *latifundia* more patent, leading to the misery of the lower classes, and consequently to such crimes as brigandage, and to wholesale emigration. Cf. on this the instructive recent travels of M. F. Lenormant, *l'Apulie et la Lucanie*, ii. p. 58.—*Ed.*]

This extended ownership, having its origin in the pillage of the world, would never have attained its ultimately dangerous development, had it not been for an article in the treaties which the murderous skill of the senate imposed upon the vanquished, namely, the depriving the latter of the *jus commercii* outside their own territory, a measure apparently inoffensive [?], but in reality one which was to bring about an economic revolution, of which the consequences were felt for ages. When the senate forbade the allies and the subjugated nations to carry on commerce among their neighbours, it was simply as a matter of political expediency to divide their interests for the sake of preventing coalitions. But, at the same time, the senate depreciated



(1) An *apiarum* (bee-hive). (2)

the value of land among all these nations, and facilitated to Roman citizens the acquisition of vast domains, since they alone could buy everywhere, and almost without competition. *Latifundia perdidere Italiam*, cries Pliny, and not without reason; the great estates have ruined Italy. First, they destroyed Italian agriculture, for mountainous countries like the Apennine peninsula can prosper only by individual labour, which, varying its methods according to the different soils, makes the smallest patch of ground available; and in the second place they changed the manners and institutions of the early Roman republic.

The small landowners vanished, a sturdy, laborious population, devoted to their country, to liberty, and to the gods. Livy quotes with approval the speech of Ligustinus, but this centurion, past

[1] The braided hive is copied from a Roman bas-relief, and is like our own. Under the Empire, hives were made of mica (Plin., *Hist. Nat.*, xxi. 47), giving a view of the interior, like our glass hives, and at Pompeii has been discovered (Donaldson, *Pompeii*, 2nd Part) an artificial hive (fig. 2) divided into stages (*fori*) to which a great number of little apertures give access. A slave (*apiarius*) in rich families had charge of the hive (*apiarium*). Cf. Saglio's *Dict. des Antiq. grecq. et rom.*, p. 304–5.

fifty years of age, and having made twenty-two campaigns had nothing for himself, his wife, and his eight children, but an acre of land and a hovel.[1] What will become of his sons after the sharing of this paltry heritage? They will seek employment from rich proprietors. But the latter, like Cato, will only care to have pasture-lands, feeding numerous flocks, without expense and without labour.[2] A few slaves will be quite enough to keep these flocks, and there are so many men to be sold, that with 500 drachmæ[3] you may obtain that human machine which Varro classes with ploughs and oxen, *instrumentum vocale*, "the talking kind of agricultural implement." It works badly and is idle; but it costs so little to keep or to replace, that they use it unsparingly. With all his faults, the slave is preferred to the free workman, more expensive, less docile, and not to be treated with the same contempt. When Paulus Æmilius had sold 150,000 Epirotes, Scipio Æmilianus 55,000 Carthaginians, Gracchus so many Sardinians that it became a phrase for any low-priced commodity "a Sardinian," all the cities were full of slaves, and the free labourer could find employ nowhere except upon the estates of the rich.[4] It is a law of history that there can be no middle class in those States where slavery has been widely established.

Driven away from their inheritance by usury, or by the avidity of their rich neighbours, thrown out of work by the competition of slaves, or else discontented with the frugal life of their fathers by reason of the habits of idleness and debauchery contracted in camps, the poor turned their steps towards Rome. They were attracted thither by the cheapness of the salt derived from the salt works at Ostia, of the corn from the fields of Sicily,

[1] Livy, xlii. 32.

[2] *A Catone quum quæreretur quid maxime in re familiari expediret respondit, bene pascere.* (Colum., *Præf.*, 6.)

[3] Twelve hundred Roman prisoners sold by Hannibal in Achæa were, according to Polybius, redeemed for 100 talents (nearly £21,000). According to Böckh, the price of slaves employed in the mines of Attica was only from 125 to 150 drachmæ; according to Plutarch, for a capable slave the price might run as high as £50. (*Cat. maj.*, 6.) Horace, at a period when prices were higher, had paid for one but 500 drachmæ. (*Sat.*, ii. 7.) A proof of their paltry value is that M. Scaurus, worth only 25,000 *nummos* (250 dollars) had six slaves. (Meursius, *de Luxu Rom.*) After a victory, they were sold for four drachmæ apiece [drachmæ may be counted as a little less than francs].

[4] *Ὡς ταχὺ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἅπασαν ὀλιγανδρίας ἐλευθέρων αἰσθέσθαι, δεσμωτηρίων δὲ βαρβαρικῶν ἐμπεπλῆσθαι· δι' ὧν ἐγεώργουν οἱ πλούσιοι τὰ χωρία τοὺς πολίτας ἐξελάσαντες.* (Plut., *Tib. Gracch.*, 8.)

View of the Island and Harbour of Chios.

Sardinia and Spain, and by the meagre profits of the more or less honest industries which grow up under the stimulus of city life, lastly by a new sort of clientage, mendicancy at the doors of the great. "Now," says Varro, "that fathers of families, abandoning the sickle and the plough, have nearly all crept into Rome, and had rather use their hands in the circus or the theatre than in the fields and vineyards, we are compelled, that we may not die of hunger, to buy our corn of the Africans and the Sardinians, and gather the vintage in ships from the islands of Cos and Chios." Thus the famished crowd grew who called themselves the Roman people, and were ready to be bought by the highest bidder. Cæsar ascertained that out of 450,000 citizens, 320,000 were living at the public expense, that is to say, three-fourths of the Roman people were paupers. Even more formidable is the saying of the tribune Philippus: "There are but 2,000 individuals in Rome who own anything."[2] This social fact explains another upon which we cannot too strongly insist: the population of Rome goes on increasing, and at the same time the recruiting for the legions becomes more difficult, because the number of citizens having the required property qualification for military service diminishes every day. And yet Marius is reproached with having admitted Italians and the proletarii to the legions. But this proletariate produced soldiers attached to a man, to Marius or Sylla, to Pompeius or Cæsar, to Octavius or Antony, and no longer soldiers of the Republic. The connection of cause and effect is clear in all this history; equally clear is it that man is often the unconscious cause of the revolutions which his ideas, his passions and his acts prepare.

Coin of the Island of Chios.[1]

Driven from the fields, the free men found but slender profit in the city as artisans, for the rich had reserved to themselves all

[1] ΧΙΩΝ. Bacchus and Apollo standing; between them, an altar. On the reverse, ΑΣΣΑΡΙΑ ΤΡΙΑ (of the value of three assaria). Sphinx, the fore-foot on a ship's prow. Bronze coin of the island of Chios.

[2] *Non esse in civitate duo millia hominum qui rem haberent.* (Cic., *de Off.*, ii. 21.)

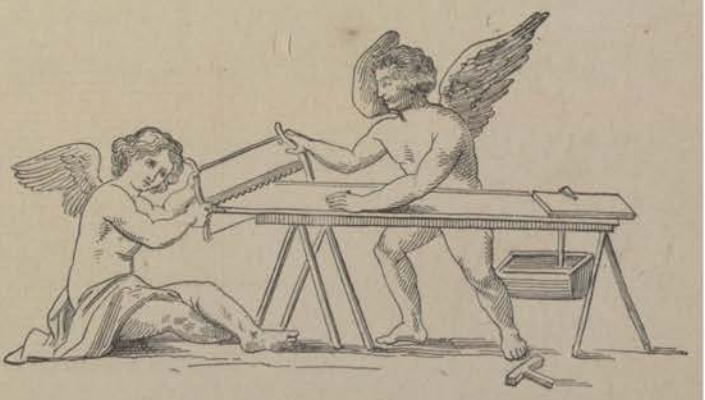
the profits of the more important industries, and frequently even those of the more humble.[1] They had established workshops for

Blacksmith.[2]

Stone Cutters.[3]

the employment of slaves, and had caused them to be taught all

Woman weighing out Wool.[4]



Carpenters.[5]

kinds of trades. Crassus employed them as cooks, masons, and

[1] Plut., *Crass.*; Cic., *pro Cæcina*, 20; Remnius Palæmon, the celebrated grammarian, had been a slave; on obtaining his freedom, he established a workroom of slave tailors (Suet., *de Ill. gr.*, 23); Atticus employed copyists (Corn. Nep., *Att.*, 13), Malleolus, work-people of all sorts (Cic., *in Verr.*). Appius, Cicero, and a thousand others had *præfecti fabrum:* the consul Balbus held this office in the household of Cæsar.

[2] Blacksmith using the sledge hammer; from the Virgil of the Vatican.

[3] Stone cutters (*lapidarius*); from the Virgil of the Vatican.

[4] *Lanifendia*, woman weighing wool to give the slaves the quantity used for their daily task; from a bas-relief of the forum of Nerva.

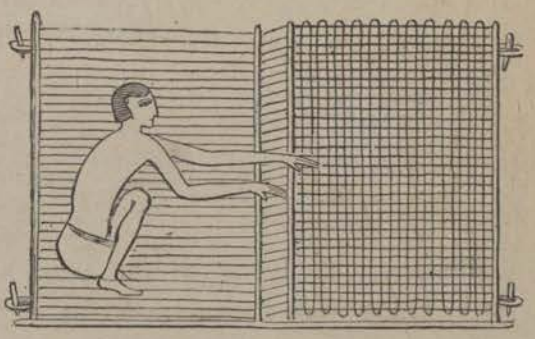
[5] From a painting in Herculanum.

scribes. Every rich family had among their slaves, weavers, carvers, embroiderers, painters, gilders, and even architects, phy-

Shoemakers (Pompeian painting).

sicians, and tutors for their sons.[1] Augustus never wore any other stuffs than those woven in his house. Every temple, every

Calculator.[2]



Weaver.[3]

corporation held slaves. The government had swarms of them for

[1] Varr., *de Re rust.*, i. 2 and 6. Suet., *Oct.*, 73. There were even *servi fanatici.* (Grut., 312, 7.)

[2] *Calculator.* The ancients counted by means of small stones (*calculi*). The mathematician represented here, from a gem in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 1858 of the Chabouillet catalogue, arranged the *calculi*, while the reckoning tablet, covered with Etruscan characters is in his left hand. Saglio, *Dict. des Antiq. grecq. et rom.*, under the word *Abacus.*

[3] Egyptian weaver, carrying the threads of the woof through the warp stretched in a frame fixed to the ground. (Rich, *Greek and Roman Antiquities*, p. 610, under the word *Sublemen* or *Subligmen.*

the lower offices of administration and the police, for the guardianship of the aqueducts and public buildings, for public works, in the arsenals, in the harbours, and as rowers on board ship. At one time Scipio sent to Rome 2,000 of them as armourers. The roughest work, as well as the most delicate, being entrusted to them, there remained but very few ways for the poor of free condition to earn his bread. Moreover, the incessant holidays, the triumphs, the days of supplication for victories, the frequent distributions made by the ædiles, by patrons, by candidates, and the prejudice which branded the small trader with infamy, all tended

Procession of Suppliants.[1]

to idleness. To listen to the orations in the Forum, to frequent games which lasted sometimes for a week at a time, to be present at the *levée* of the great, and accompany them as they went out; also to sell one's vote, one's testimony,[2] in case of need, one's strength,—these were the day's employments. It was said to them, and they reiterated it loudly: "The people-king has a right to

[1] Bas-relief from the Louvre, No. 261 of the Clarac catalogue. Preceded by magistrates, the suppliants advance towards a goddess, who is perhaps Juno Acræa, to whom goats are sacrificed. All these persons are clad in the pallium, the goddess, the magistrates and the people being represented of different heights, in accordance with the dignity of each. This usage was frequent with the Greek sculptors.

[2] The legal methods of the time in respect to the employment of witnesses had created a new trade, the sale of false oaths and false testimony. Cf. Plautus, *Pœnul.*, 581; *Curculio*, 478.

live at the expense of a conquered world." And was this populace, indeed, in any sense the Roman people?

Formerly, to fill the gaps made by war in the ranks of those plebeians whom the nobles had learned, to their cost, to respect, the senate had been accustomed to bestow citizenship upon the bravest of the Italian peoples; but, since the close of the first Punic war, not one new tribe had been formed. Who then filled

Client.[1]

Client.[2]

the places of those taken prisoners in the second Punic war,[3] of those left upon the battlefields of Cannæ, Thrasimene and Zama, or in the Spanish mountain-gorges, or in the marshes of the Cisalpine, or in Greece, or Asia, and to the very foot of Mount Atlas? Freedmen, Sicilians, Greeks, Africans, who brought to Rome their corrupt habits and all the vices of slaves.

Between the years 241 and 210 B.C., an immense number of freedmen made their way into the Roman world. When, in the midst of the war against Hannibal, the senate emptied the *sanctius ærarium*, in which was contained that *aurum vicesimarium*, produced by levying a tax of a twentieth upon the value of every enfranchised slave, it was found to be 4,000 pounds weight of gold.

[1] Bronze statuette from the museum of Naples.

[2] From the Virgil of the Vatican.

[3] The Romans lost 20,000 prisoners at Drepanum alone, 6,000 at Thrasimene, 8,000 at Cannæ, etc., and if they set free 20,000 in Africa, 4,000 in Crete, 1,200 in Achæa, etc., how many must we suppose had perished before deliverance came?

During the first Punic war it had been found necessary to resort to this expedient, the necessity of the case being no less urgent; the treasury at that time contained only the income of thirty or forty years, which amounted, however, to £150,000. Now Cato paid for a healthy slave about £50, and the Achæans redeemed the legionaries sold by Hannibal at a price of about £18; taking the mean, we should have about 3,000 enfranchisements yearly. These figures are uncertain, not so the fact that every successful war brought in great numbers of slaves, many of whom quickly passed into the condition of freedmen, for it was an advantage to have people of this kind. In return for his liberty, the freedman pledged himself to his former owner, whose client he now became, to pay annually a certain sum, to give his master a portion of what he received in the *congiaria*,[2] and finally to leave to him his property, for the master often required of the slave whom he liberated an oath not to marry, that the property might legally fall to him, an oath which was not prohibited until the time of Augustus.[3]

Congiarium.[1]

In conclusion, as the *manumissio* made the *libertus* a citizen, to have many *liberti* was to possess means of action in the comitia, and a guard in case of popular tumults. In Cicero's time it was customary to enfranchise the honest and industrious captive after six years of servitude. Rome thus had so many freedmen, that Sempronius Gracchus, the father of the Gracchi, made an attempt during his censorship to expel from the tribes the *libertini* whom his predecessor had enrolled in them. Upon meeting with opposition from Appius Claudius, his colleague, he consented to leave those who had a child over five years of age, or who possessed property of 30,000 *sesterces* in value; the others were incorporated in one of the four urban tribes. This measure was not long enforced, for Scipio Æmilianus regarded the Roman people as only

[1] Reverse of a large bronze of Trajan. COS V. (consul for the fifth time) CONGIAR SECVND (second *congiarium*, or public distribution of money or food). The *congius*, a measure of liquids was an eighth of the amphora, that is, not quite six pints.

[2] Dion., xxxix. 24. On the question of slavery, the standard work is that of M. Wallon.

[3] Dion., xliii. 14. Cf. Giraud, *Acad. des sc. mor.*, 1879, p. 320.

a crowd of former captives, and the method most useful to demagogues to render themselves masters in the comitia was to scatter the freedmen through all the tribes, where, according to Cicero, they formed the majority in his time, even in the rural tribes.[1]

Thus Rome, sending her own citizens into the provinces as soldiers, publicans, agents for the governors, stewards for the rich, or adventurers seeking fortune, received in return slaves,[2] whom she soon converted into freedmen, the Greek slave bringing to her the vices of an effete society, and the Spanish, Thracian, or Gallic slave, those of a barbarous community. There existed between the capital and the provinces an uninterrupted circulation, so to speak. The blood flowed from the heart into the extremities, and returned vitiated and corrupted.[3] Sallust says, with his habitual energy: "All was lost when there arose a generation of men who neither had patriotism themselves, nor could suffer others to have it."

From the political point of view, these results were menacing; from the economic they were disastrous. The concentration of landed property and capital in the hands of a small oligarchy, the system of pasture-lands instead of grain-lands, and all farming left in the hands of ignorant slaves upon whom the eye of the master no longer kept watch, were so many causes of ruin for agriculture.[4] As early as the time of Cato, it had begun to decline, and soon became so unproductive, that being unable to supply their own food, "the life of the Roman people was at the mercy of winds and waves." Nor are these the sole dangers; the fields deserted by free labourers become depopulated, and at a thousand points, the malaria seizes upon them, drives away its last lingerers, or extends its murderous sway over them. Before the close

[1] *De Orat.*, i. 9.

[2] During the first Punic war, Duillius made 8,000 prisoners; Manlius and Regulus, 40,000; Lutatius, 36,000. We may, therefore, reckon the number of African slaves brought into Italy at this time as a fifth of the whole population of Rome. The names—Afer, Pœnus, and Numida occur rarely, it is true, in the comic poets, but it is for the reason that the latter copied chiefly from the Greek, and spoke only of domestic servants, while the Africans, speaking an unknown language, were probably despatched into the fields.

[3] *Romam . . . . mundi fœce repletam.* (Lucan., vii. 404.)

[4] Pliny says: *Coli rura at ergastulis pessimum est, et quidquid agitur a desperantibus;* and Columella, in his preface: *Nostro accidere vitio qui rem rusticam pessimo cuique servorum, velut carnifici, noxæ dedimus, quam majorum nostrorum optimus quisque optime tractaverit.* Upon the rapid progress of malaria, see vol. i., pp. xxiv., *seq.*

of a century, a part of the Latin plain had become uninhabitable.[1]

We have seen the disastrous effects on the old Roman people of the sudden increase of wealth, and the introduction of countless myriads of slaves. It should be said in advance that much of this wealth will soon be dispersed; that internal order will bring to an end one of the most prolific causes of slavery; that to respond to the needs of a higher civilization, industry and commerce will make prodigious strides, by which the free artisan will profit, finally, that in the shelter of a peace of two centuries, 100,000,000 men will enjoy a prosperity which had never hitherto been known. We have been examining that work of destruction which will continue till republican Rome has perished; in the history of the Empire we shall see the work of reconstruction going forward, notwithstanding the bloody tragedies of senate-house and palace.

III.—Political Changes.

By the disappearance of the class of small farmers, Roman society lost a conservative force which would have retarded the rapid march of the inevitable revolution. The nobles, set free from all restraint when they no longer saw before them those plebeians whom it had been was necessary to treat with a certain consideration, now abandoned themselves to the license of the new time. They regarded simplicity of life as a folly, and the idea of equality as an insolent pretension. True it is that the fears and the adulation of the world did indeed place them on a very high pinnacle compared with the immense extent of the empire and the myriads of its subjects. Rome with her inhabitants was but a speck, and as they daily determined the destinies of nations and beheld kings waiting at the doors of the senate-house for their decisions, these republican senators assumed a [more than] royal arrogance, from which liberty was soon to suffer. We will examine in detail the powers which they possessed.

It is through their financial element that, in modern times,

[1] It became necessary to procure every year from Umbria and the Abruzzi the labourers necessary for the season's work. (Suet., *Vesp.*, i.)

governments are made dependent upon the representatives of the country. The annual vote of supply, or at least of new expenses, is a guarantee for the liberties of the people, and a safeguard for the governments themselves, whom this necessity deters from useless expenses. At Rome, there was nothing of this kind. The popular assembly did not at all concern itself with public expenses, and but one tax is known to have been established by law, and this in a time almost of revolution.[1] Receipts and expenses were regulated by the Conscript Fathers; they alone managed the exchequer, as the consuls disposed of the spoils of war, and the ædiles of the moneys received as fines.[2] Hence it occurred that when certain senators committed public frauds, they found their colleagues ready to share, or at least to wink at, their dishonesty. This abandoning to the senate of the entire charge of the finances was, by the license which it authorized, a cause of ruin for the Republic, as in later times the absence of all financial control brought ruin on our old French monarchy.

Masters of the public finances, the senators were also masters of the administration of justice. In civil cases suits were brought before the prætor, who, leaving the decision upon facts to judges selected for important cases from the senate, and for the rest from the centumvirs, took part in the case only by indicating the particular law applicable to the questions. The same is done in French criminal courts, in the contrary order of sequence; the decision of the jury on the nature of the crime precedes the judge's declaration of the article of the penal code which bears upon the case.

In criminal cases, the people gathered in the centuriate assembly was the judge. In early times crimes had been rare. But the extension of the empire, the prodigious growth of the city itself, the temptations of every kind offered to evil-minded persons

[1] See vol. i. p. 288, n. 2.

[2] Legally, the general was required to pay into the treasury, or else to abandon to his soldiers, the products of the booty obtained in war; this was the *donativum*, a deplorable custom under the empire, but one derived from the Republic, and springing from the deepest convictions of the nation, for the Roman wars had pillage for their object much more than conquest. As to the ædiles, they were expected to employ the sums received as fines in keeping the public edifices in repair, but we never hear of any account being required from them any more than from the censors for the great public works that they carried on. Both, doubtless, fulfilled all that was expected of them by keeping the senate informed as to their proceedings.

to attain to sudden fortune, multiplied breaches of public order. The Romans were not men like the Athenians, who were willing to leave their personal affairs and sit all the year long listening to arguments in court. The aristocracy, moreover, took care not to establish the rule of salary for such services. Hence it resulted that the consuls were obliged to exercise the old royal right of referring a criminal case to a commission, *quæstio*, and the number of crimes increasing, this exceptional jurisdiction soon came to be a permanent one.

The people did not make a good judge, for in the first place, having made the law themselves, they were easily tempted to set themselves above it, or to put their own interpretation upon it, and, further, the multitude does not weigh reasons, but decides after the passion or interest of the moment, confounding these with true justice. So it came about that those accused before this tribunal sought rather to touch the feelings than to convince the reason. Hence the mourning garments, the tears, the supplications of relatives and friends, and moving appeals of advocates, hence the exhibition of scars received in battle and of rewards for valour.[1]

In an established government, which had interests of such magnitude to protect, and in a case where the people was no longer anything but a venal crowd, such justice was the very height of injustice, most harmful to the public weal. Calpurnius Piso was therefore a useful citizen, when, in the year 149, he proposed the establishment of a permanent tribunal to take cognizance of cases of extortion and malversation, now grown scandalously frequent.[2]

Five years later three permanent tribunals, *quæstiones perpetuæ*, were created, having cognizance of crimes of high treason, and embezzlement of public money, and their jurisdiction was finally extended to all crimes against the State. The veto of the tribunes

[1] See, for instance, the case of Manlius (vol. i. p. 279). In the year 98 Manius Aquillius, the pacificator of Sicily, having been accused of embezzlement, Marcus Antonius, his advocate ended the argument for the defence by tearing the tunic of Aquillius to show the breast of the veteran covered with scars. The multitude was moved to tears, and Aquillius was acquitted, although the evidence had been very clear against him. (Cic., *Brut.*, 62; *de Off.*, ii. 14; *de Orat.*, ii. 28, 45, 47.)

[2] Cic., *Brut.*, 27. The Calpurnian law was renewed and rendered more severe by the Junian law in 126, the Acilian in 101, the Cornelian in 81, and the Julian in 59.

could not arrest their action, nor the comitia set aside their decisions. A citizen condemned for extortion lost for ever the right of speaking in the assembly of the people.[1] Theoretically the *quæstiones perpetuæ* were an encroachment upon popular rights;[2] politically, they were an inevitable institution, and as good public policy is that which gives satisfaction, not to theories, but to the needs of the time, this usurpation, or rather this change, was legitimate because it was necessary.

The importance of the institution arises from the fact that the members of the new tribunal were selected from the senate. That assembly did not form a court of justice until the time of the emperors, but all the judges of the *quæstiones perpetuæ* being senators, the great political body of the State thus became also its great judicial body, "and this function," says Polybius, "was the firmest support of the authority of the senate."[3] We shall find that the appointment to these judicial positions became an object of the most violent contests.

We may note in passing that the Roman world having never known what we call the government prosecutor, private individuals took this duty upon themselves. The *delatio* was therefore a recognized procedure, and Cicero considers it admirable;[4] any individual might present himself as prosecutor or accuser on behalf of the State, and this became an industry having its risks and also its profits. A man might gain reputation in this way by an eloquent argument; and many young nobles began thus to make themselves known; money even might be gained, since the prosecutor received, as recompense for the service he had rendered to society, a fourth part of the property confiscated or the fine imposed. A Macedonian inscription[5] offers a reward of 200 denarii to the *delator* who should bring to justice the profaners of a tomb; in England the same custom yet obtains. These informers, whom

[1] Cic., *ad Herenn.*, i. 11. The prætors continued to judge in civil cases, and the ædiles in mercantile disputes.

[2] See vol. i. p. 223, the conferring by the Twelve Tables of criminal jurisdiction upon the comitia centuriata alone.

[3] vi. 17. Whenever, he says, the suit is at all important, even in the *judicia privata*, the judges are senators.

[4] *Accusatores multos esse in civitate utile est ut metu contineatur audacia.* (*pro Roscio Amer.*, 20.)

[5] Heuzey, *Miss. archéol. de Macéd.*, p. 38.

the empire inherited from the Republic, will come to have a very bad name; they had it, indeed, since the time of Plautus. One of his parasites scornfully declares that he would not change his vocation for that of the man who makes a legal prosecution "his net wherein to catch another man's goods." [1]

What was the legislative importance of the senatus-consultum? There was much discussion upon this point; in a constitution the work of time, like that of Rome, there was no definite rule upon the subject. At first the senate legislated freely in the triple sphere of religion, finances, and foreign relations, but there exists quite a number of senatus-consulta relating to other questions, especially concerning internal order and the direction of public affairs. Pomponius in the *Digest* says: [2] "As it was difficult to bring the people together, the necessity of the case caused the care of the State to pass into the hands of the senate, and all that the senate decreed was obeyed. These decrees were called senatus-consulta."

The senate assumed the power of dispensing with the observance of laws. Having declared that in their judgment the people could not be bound by such or such a law, *ea lege non videri populum teneri*,[3] the magistrate charged with its execution felt authorized to omit it. But the demagogue tribunes, no less ingenious than the Conscript Fathers in distorting the law, will later insert in certain of their revolutionary *rogations* a clause requiring the senators to swear under pain of exile that they will obey the same. In this way Saturninus put exceptional authority into the hands of Marius.

With this two-fold right of making the senatus-consulta obligatory, and of dispensing with the observance of a law, the senate had no longer need of the dictatorship, and this office disappears from history.[4]

[1] Persa, v. 63, *seq.*

[2] Gaius, *Inst.*, i. 4. (*Digest*, I. ii. 9.)

[3] Cic., *de Domo*, 16; *Philipp.*, xii. 5. After the time of the Gracchi the senate took upon itself to release from a law in express terms, *legibus solveretur*, but that this decree be valid the presence of 200 senators was required, and then the approbation of the people, after which the tribunes could no longer oppose their veto. (Ascon., *in* Cic. *pro Cornelio*, p. 57–8.)

[4] The dictatorship of Sylla and of Cæsar have nothing in common with the earlier office of that name.

The dictatorship was really permanently established in the curia, and the senators made it operative by the formula, *Caveant consules*, which was equivalent to the modern declaration of martial law, and gave full powers to the consuls. Later, however, agitation will spring up again in the Forum; the tribunes will refuse to acknowledge the power of suppressing the appeal to the people, *provocatio*, and the decisions of Opimius, Rabirius and Cicero will break this weapon in the senate's hand.

The senate was accustomed to interpose in yet another way in legislation. The Publilian and Hortensian laws had taken from it the initiative and the sanction of the laws;[1] it recovered these prerogatives by indirect means. The senate decided, for example, that there should be presented to the popular assembly a plebiscitum invested in advance with the senatorial approval, which would thus ensure its passage,[2] and also caused it to be established by the *lex Ælia-Fufia*,[3] that an assembly could not be held, or valid decisions made, if a magistrate should announce to the president of the comitia his intention of observing the heavens. This was the suspending veto hidden under a religious form and a method of putting a stop at once to any revolutionary *rogation*. Cicero owns it frankly: "This law," he says, "is our secure defence against the fury of the tribunes."[4] Yes, but only so long as men shall continue to respect the law, the scruple upon which it was founded, and the senate by whom it was dictated.

In the elections the action was more discreet, but no less real. By the senate was decided the list of candidates to be submitted to the people's choice by the president of the assembly.

With the Conscript Fathers rested the charge of public worship, the right of prohibiting certain ceremonies, and of giving or refusing citizenship to foreign gods; lastly, all the foreign policy, the calling out of the legions, the disposition of armies, the resources placed at the general's disposal in money and in native or auxiliary

[1] See vol. i. pp. 290 and 294.

[2] Thus: *Attilius tribunus plebis ex auctoritate senatus plebem in hæc verba rogavit.* (Livy, xxvi. 33.)

[3] These two laws, or this law, probably belongs to the middle of the second century, before the Christian era.

[4] . . . . *Subsidia certissima contra tribunicios furores, propugnacula murique tranquillitatis et otii.*

troops, the conditions imposed upon the vanquished, the relations with allies, and if the senate had not in so many words taken from the people the right of making war and peace, it acted habitually as though this sovereign prerogative no longer belonged to the popular assembly,[1] and the question was very soon asked whether for a declaration of war the senatus-consultum was not sufficient.[2] In a word, the senate, originally merely a council assisting the king and the consuls, now governed and administered, and the magistrates were, in a sense, only its executive: *quasi ministros gravissimi consilii.*

This concentration of power in the hands of the senate was inevitable in the new conditions of Rome's existence. Recruited from men who had filled the highest offices, carried on the most difficult wars, administered the government of provinces vast as kingdoms, this assembly was the most experienced, the most skilful, and at once the boldest and the most prudent body which has ever ruled a State. The Grand Council of another powerful city, Venice, was but a pale image of it. Venice, however, restrained her aristocracy as well as her subjects, while the Roman senate knew not how to rule it, but was itself ruled by those whom Sallust calls the faction of the great.

The senate, in truth, was only the head of a new aristocracy, more illustrious than the earlier one because it had done greater things, prouder, because it saw the world at its feet. Of the former *gentes* there now remained but a few,[3] and since the time

[1] When the senate undertook a war without having asked for the people's authority, either it was represented as a continuation of earlier hostilities, for instance, in Lusitania, under Cæpio, or else it was a case where allies, like the Massiliotes, implored instant succour. The usual plan was to drive its adversaries to desperation, and then, on pretext that they had broken the peace, send forth the legions. Thus Carthage, in attacking Masinissa, had been guilty of an infraction of the treaty, etc.

[2] Livy, iv. 30; Cic., *pro Sestio*, 65.

[3] In the senate of the year 179, M. Willems (*Sénat. de la rép. rom.*, p. 366) finds but eighty eight patricians to 216 plebeians; noble families became extinct very easily. In England (Doubleday, *True Law of the Population*, chap. iv.) there remain very few Norman nobles; two-thirds of the peerage (272 out of 394) date since 1760. Of 1,527 baronetcies, created since 1611, there remained in 1819 but 635, of which only 30 date from 1611. Of 487 families admitted into the citizenship of Berne from 1583 to 1654, in 1783 only 108 remained. During the century from 1684 to 1784, 207 Bernese families became extinct. In 1623 the sovereign council was composed of 112 families; in 1796 only 58 remained. The author cites similar observations made on the nobility of France, the Netherlands, and Venice; in about 100 years the number of Venetian nobles fell from 2,500 to 1,500, and this in a time of peace and

of the second Punic war a majority in the senate had been plebeian. Thus in the year 172 there were, notwithstanding the law, two plebeian consuls, and in 131 two censors of the same order. Hence a fact of the greatest importance had taken place in the Roman society at the epoch with which we are now occupied: the aristocracy and the people were altogether renewed. But other

Chariot with Four Horses (*quadriga*), p. 324.[1]

men bring other ideas; this second aristocracy, although itself coming up from the people, held the people in no less sovereign contempt. It was no longer a question of keeping out the plebeians from office, but the *new man*. Uniting by marriages and by

notwithstanding the ennobling of several new families. Finally, he recalls a passage in which Tacitus (*Ann.*, xi. 25) makes the observation that in the time of Cæsar there were but a few patrician families, and that of all those created by Julius and Augustus, none remained in the time of Claudius. At Paris, the average of children in rich households is not over two. The special rights of the patricians at Rome at this time were merely honorary offices. (Cic., *pro Domo*, 14.) The *interrex*, when one was required, the *rex sacrorum*, the *flamens*, the *salii*, half the other priests and all of the vestals, the presidents of the comitia centuriata and curiata, must be patricians. On this account Cæsar and the emperors were forced to create them. The emperors themselves became patricians on the day of their accession.

[1] From a bas-relief in terra-cotta. (Rich, *Greek and Roman Antiquities*, under the word *Auriga*.

adoptions their blood and their interests,[1] the noble families of the time formed an oligarchy which made the magistracies their patrimony, nor could it have been otherwise. The profitable offices of the consulate and the prætorship were always elective. To obtain them one must secure the favour of the electors, and this favour could be obtained in two ways, either by buying a sufficient number of the electors with money, or the entire populace with entertainments. Thanks to the spoils of war brought home from the provinces, and to the revenues of the immense domains that the proconsuls had reserved for themselves, the sons of those who had obtained from the conquest of Italy no more than a farm of seven acres were able to multiply public shows, chariot-races, and combats of gladiators, dramatic representations and shows of wild beasts, games of all sorts, and gratuitous distributions. The venality of the people, and the necessity of incurring first the ruinous expenses of the ædileship,[3] closed the access to public honours against all those who were not able to sacrifice immense sums upon an election, by which we see that a man must be rich to obtain office, and must be in office in order to be rich, a vicious circle, from which escape seemed impossible, but one which explains how public offices remained perpetually in those families to which they had once

Gladiator.[2]

Charioteer standing in a Quadriga.[4]

[1] Thus a sister of Paulus Æmilius had married Africanus; he himself took for wife a Papiria. His eldest son was adopted by Q. Fabius Maximus, and his second by a son of Scipio Africanus. His two daughters entered illustrious plebeian families, one marrying Ælius Tubero, and the other Cato's son.

[2] From a terra-cotta lamp. A Thracian gladiator, so called because he has the same armour, a knife with broad, curved blade (*sica*) and the small buckler (Festus, s. v.) with square corners and convex surface. (Rich, *Greek and Roman Antiquities*, under the word *Thrax*.)

[3] Since the time of the first Punic war the ædiles had been obliged to celebrate at their own expense the *ludi maximi*. From a passage in Livy (xxiv. 11) it is plain that all the senators must have been possessed of great wealth.

[4] Gem from the *Cabinet de France*, No. 1866 of the catalogue.

brought fortune. The law, indeed, said that the magistracies were annual, but Cato wasted his time when he reproached the people for bestowing them year after year upon the same man.[1] In the consular lists certain names perpetually reappear. From 219 to 133, a period of eighty-three years, nine families obtained eighty-six consulships.[2] Thus the number of obscure citizens who rose to eminence was very small indeed—the pontifex Maximus Coruncanius, Flaminius, Varro, Cato, Mummius, and Acilius Glabrio,

Chariot Race.[3]

and of these parvenus a few owed their promotion to the patronage of some great family, like Cato, the client of the Valerii, and Lælius, protegé of the Scipios.

The movement which, raising to office all competent citizens, perpetually renewed the aristocracy and ensured its permanence by legitimating its existence—that movement, commenced two centuries earlier, was about to be arrested. Shut up, so to speak, within its

[1] Plut., *Cat.*, 12.

[2] These are: the Cornelii, twenty-one; the Fulvii, ten; the Sempronii, nine; the Marcelli nine; the Postumii, eight; the Servilii, seven; the Fabii, seven; the Appii and Valerii, six each.

[3] From an engraved stone. In the centre the *spina* around which the chariots must go seven times; it is ornamented with an obelisk and a Victory; at the extremities are the posts around which the chariots are driven. (See in vol. i. p. 541, and in the present volume, p. 279, two bas-relief where Genii are the runners.

public honours and its wealth, the nobility broke all ties connecting it with the people whom it despised, even when soliciting their votes, like Scipio Nasica, who, taking a peasant's callous hand, said, "Well, my man, do you walk on the palms of your hands?" Another, Servilius Isauricus, being on foot in some road, saw a man pass him on horseback. He was exasperated that anyone should presume to remain mounted while he was on foot, and awhile later, recognizing the poor fellow as a defendant before some tri-

Combat of Gladiators (p. 325).[1]

bunal, he denounced the offence to the judges, who, without hearing another word, unanimously condemned the disrespectful rider.[2]

We must make clear to ourselves how the oligarchy could be with impunity so scornful towards the populace, and why the poor should bear with so much resignation the insolence of the great. The people, such as it was, heard constantly of the exploits of the aristocracy, of their wealth, and of their high descent. Before the populace the nobles always appeared with a train of clients and slaves; they were courted by the magistrates of foreign cities,

[1] From a mosaic engraved by Winckelmann. (*Mon. inéd.*, pl. 197.) The *retiarius* has thrown his net (*rete*) over the head of his adversary, and attacks him with his trident, the only weapon he has, while the *secutor* has a buckler and a two-edged knife. The man who stands behind the *retiarius* is a *lanista*, that is to say, a trainer of gladiators.

[2] Dion., xlv. 16.

P. Sellier, del. Imp. Faillery.

POMPEIAN WALL DECORATION

by ambassadors of kings, even by kings themselves; at the theatre they were seated apart,[1] wrapped in that toga with the wide purple border that betokened the senator, the man who was, we may say, the master of this sovereign people. Daily the city rang with the name of this or that man of rank returning from his province so loaded with spoils that after adorning his own palace and villa, he had still enough for the Forum, the Campus Martius, and the temples. Yesterday may have been a triumph,[2] and all Rome

Combat of Gladiators (p. 325).[3]

crowding the Via Sacra to see the spoils, the captives, the conqueror himself going up to the Capitol, and the army in warlike pomp marching behind his chariot. To-day a consul displays his own statue in some public square, or with imposing sacrifices consecrates a temple vowed during a battle. To-morrow there is to be solemn thanksgiving to the gods for the success of some absent general, or it may be the funeral of some illustrious man crossing the Forum followed by a procession of relatives [and some of his ancestors in State robes represented by mutes], and the nearest of kin

[1] This right was given them by Scipio Africanus during his second consulate (194).

[2] These triumphs had become so frequent that about the year 181 a law required as a condition for obtaining one, that at least 5,000 of the enemy should have been slain in one battle.

[3] From Winckelmann (*loco. cit.*), combat between two gladiators armed with round buckler and short sword; a *lanista* stands behind each.

will pronounce a funeral oration over the deceased from the same place whence the magistrates make known to all the world the decisions of the people and the victories won by Roman arms. A Metellus is carried past borne upon his bier by his four sons, who are, or have been, prætors or consuls. This Metellus was called Macedonicus; Scipio had assumed the title of Africanus, Mummius that of Achaicus, and these glorious *agnomina* kept forever before the people that these men had made the greatness

Sacrifice.[1]

of Rome, as the exploits of these men's ancestors engraved upon their coins perpetuated the memory of those who in difficult days had saved the fortunes of the Roman people. Before the splendour surrounding these great names, the plebeians, for the most part of servile origin, felt their low condition more than ever.

Masters of the senate, of public offices, of the tribunals, and when they were crafty enough, of the Forum, the nobles regulated all things after their own good pleasure; even the senate often

[1] From a bas-relief. The bull is held by the assistants, and the *popa* is preparing to slay it with an axe.

saw its authority scorned by them. Against the senate's and the people's will, Appius Claudius triumphed, after a victory over the Salassi; Popilius Lænas made an unjustifiable attack upon the Statielli, razed their city, and sold 10,000 of them into slavery. A few voices were raised in behalf of this unhappy tribe, the only one among all the Ligurians who had never attacked the legions, and a decree was passed that they should be restored from slavery; upon which Popilius slew 10,000 more of them, and being cited before a tribunal, he obtained from the prætor an adjournment of the case, and it was never heard of again. Scipio in his operations had rarely consulted the senate, and the generals following his example forgot in their provinces that they ought to be the docile agents of a superior authority. Thus, without waiting for the senate's authorization, Manlius attacked the Galatians; Lucullus, the Vaccæans; Æmilius, Pallantia; Cassius, the mountaineers of the Alps. This same Cassius was desirous of leaving his province, the Cisalpina, to penetrate through Illyria into Macedon, where the other consul commanded, though at the risk of leaving Italy and Rome unprotected.

Law and custom alike forbidding the nobles to seek legitimate gains by commerce or manufactures,[1] there remained to them only the profits of dishonour, and these they freely sought; towards the allies and the provincials they allowed themselves every license. It was proposed to send Marcellus into Sicily: "Let Ætna rather bury us beneath its lava!" cried the Syracusans. Sicily must pay the penalty of its fruitfulness, Spain of its mineral wealth. Besides a permanent tax,[2] the Spaniards furnished corn, for a part of which they were paid; but the prætors fixed a very low price for the corn they bought, and a very high price for that which the Spaniards were bound to furnish; then they converted this due into money, and thus levied a heavy tribute. These exactions became so notorious that in the time of the war against Perseus the senate judged it prudent to show some justice.[3] Two prætors

[1] The *lex Claudia tribunicia* (218) had forbidden senators or their sons to possess vessels of more than 300 *amphoræ*. (Cic., *II in Verr.*, v. 8; Livy, xxi. 63; Cf. Dion., LV. x. 5.)

[2] Spain owed also since the consulate of Cato, *vectigalia magna ex ferrariis argentariisque*. (Livy, xxxiv. 21.)

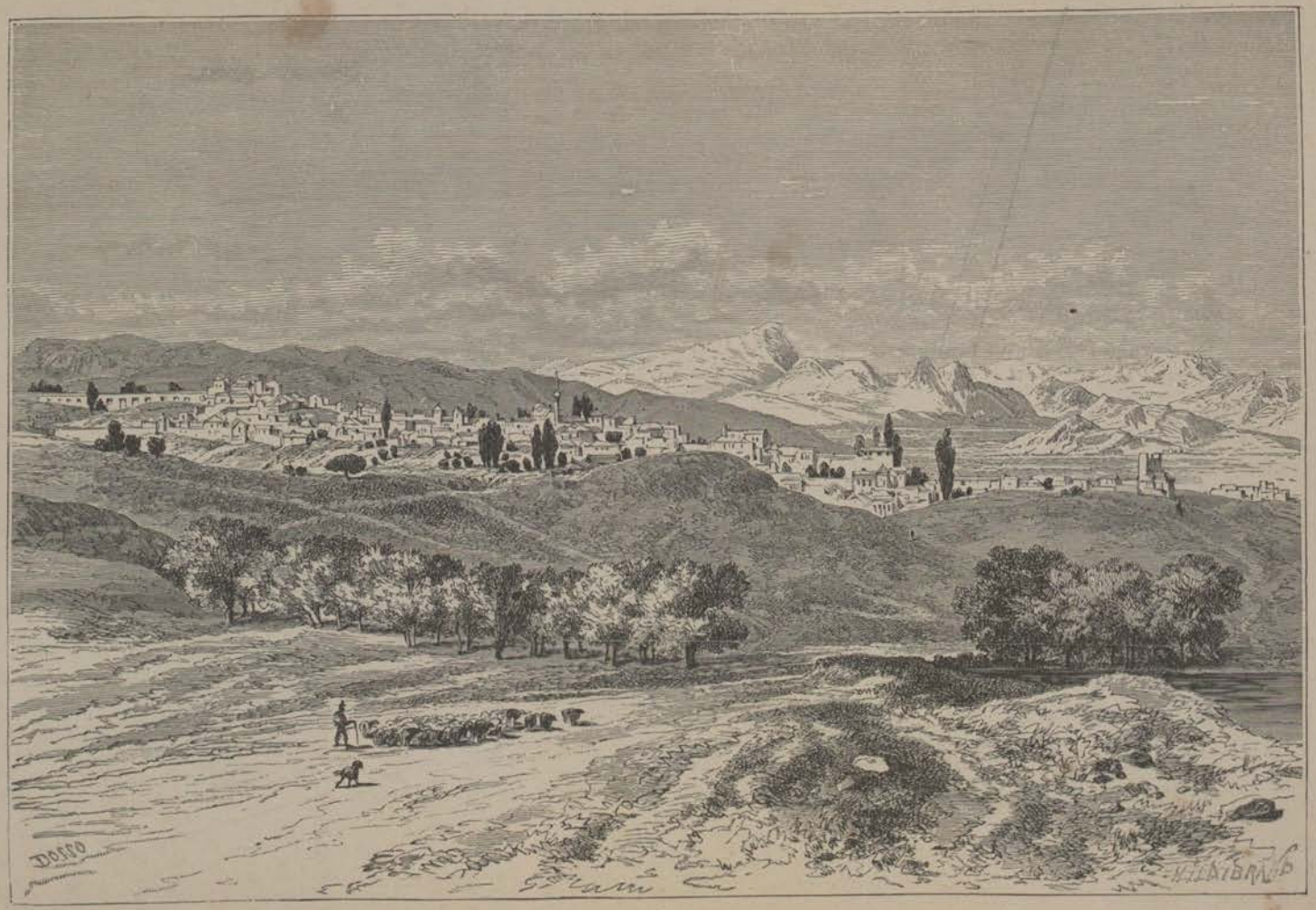
[3] Livy, xliii. 2. Other prætors were accused and condemned in the year 154. (*Epit.*, xlvii.)

were accused, and exiled themselves before sentence was pronounced, the one to Tibur, the other to Præneste. Others were suspected, but the magistrate, whose duty it was to examine the case, set off suddenly for his government, and the senate, anxious to end this annoying affair, made certain rules with the intention of giving a show of satisfaction to the Spaniards.

In Greece during this time consuls and prætors vied with one another in pillaging the allied cities, and went so far as to sell their citizens by auction; this they did at Coronea, at Haliartus, at Thebes, and at Chalcis. The sterile country of Attica was required to furnish 100,000 bushels of corn, Abdera gave 50,000, and 100,000 denarii beside, and as the city ventured to send complaints to the senate, Hostilius gave it up to pillage, decapitated the principal men, and sold the entire population. Another prætor, Lucretius, still more culpable, was accused at Rome. It would be unjust, his friends said, to receive complaints against a magistrate absent in the service of his country, and the affair was adjourned. Lucretius, meanwhile, was employed in decorating his villa near Antium with the product of his rapine, and turning the course of a river to lead it through his park. A second time he was less fortunate; he was condemned to pay a fine of 1,000,000 *ases*, then the senate gave the envoys of the complaining cities a few sesterces and so the matter ended. But decrees quickly fell into oblivion, and the abuses recommenced, only they were less conspicuous, that the scandal of them might not so readily reach Rome.

Many of these nobles were full of indulgence for faults that they felt themselves very capable of committing, and the successors of the offending officials did all in their power to suppress the accusations made against their predecessors. In his orations against Verres, Cicero shows Metellus, a man of considerable moderation, threatening the Sicilians with his displeasure if they should send deputies to Rome, and detaining by force the most material witnesses against his predecessor.[1] But on the other side, when Cicero is for the defence, how arrogant he is, and how contemptuous of the provincials! Notice, for example, how he treats Induciomar in the oration *pro Fonteio*, and the peasants of

[1] *Minari Siculis, si decrevissent legationem . . . . , minari, si qui essent profecti . . . . gravissimos . . . . testes . . . . vi custodiisque retinere.* (*II in Verr.*, ii. 4.)



Cadmeia and the Plain of Thebes (from Baron de Stackelberg's *la Grèce*).

Tmolus in his *pro Flacco:* "Can anyone compare," he says, "the most important person in Gaul with even the meanest citizen of Rome? Does Induciomar even understand what it is to testify in your presence?"[1] It was only a very heavy oppression indeed which could decide a people to incur, by entering a complaint at Rome, the anger of these very powerful personages. In order to

Wreath of Gold.[2]

appease Marcellus, whom they had accused of rapine, the Sicilian deputies were seen in presence of the senate to fall at his feet to implore pardon for themselves and to beg him to receive them, themselves and all the Syracusans, as his clients. Upon their return, Syracuse instituted annual festivities in honour of the man

[1] *Pro Fonteio*, 11.

[2] This wreath, of the most delicate workmanship, was found in 1813 in a tomb at Armento (Basilicate). The inscription beneath the winged figure is a formula of dedication and a proper name, written in characters believed to be of the fourth century B.C. Some of the flowers are covered with turquoise-blue enamel; insects hover over it, attached by very slender threads of gold. Was this a triumphal or simply a funereal wreath? Are the winged figurines Victories, or are they Genii, emblems of immortality? (See on this subject Saglio's *Dict. des ant. grecq. et rom.*, p. 800.)

who had almost destroyed the city; and later, the divinity of these celebrations was Verres.

Another kind of exactions weighed upon the allies. After each victory the general required golden wreaths from them.[1] The consuls commanding in Greece and in Asia between the years 200 and 188 caused to be given to themselves 630 gold wreaths, ordinarily of the weight of twelve pounds. If during the battle they vowed games or temples, they never failed to levy in their province the needful funds. With money furnished by the allies, Fulvius and Scipio celebrated games which lasted ten days.[2] Even the ædiles were wont to compel the provinces to pay for the spectacles their office required them to furnish to the populace, and a senatus-consultum vainly sought to put a stop to these exactions.[3]

There is preserved for us from Cato's discourse *upon his expenses* a lively picture: ". . . . I directed the tablets to be brought which contained my discourse. My ancestors' services and my own were read out, and then followed them these words: 'Never have I expended in securing votes either my own money or that of the allies.' But No, I cried to the clerk, do not read that; they will not listen to it. He then went on: 'Have I ever established in the cities of your allies rulers capable of ravishing their goods, their wives, and children?' Pass over this also; there is nothing they would be more reluctant to hear. Go on. 'Never have I given to my friends commercial letters that they might derive great profits from the sale of the same.' Erase this at once. 'Never have I divided between my friends and my agents sums of money under pretext that wine was due them for their table, nor ever enriched them to the public detriment.' Ah! scratch that out into the very wood [of the tablet]. 'See then, I beg you, the sad condition of the Republic; I dare not recall the services I have rendered to

[1] Later this became a regular tax, *aurum coronarium*, exacted without victories or triumphs, as in the case of Piso. (See Cic., *in Pis.*)

[2] Livy, xxxix. 22. Athenæus, brother of Attalus, gave to the senate in the year 186 a wreath of gold worth 15,000 gold pieces. The Ætolians offered to Fulvius one worth 150 talents. (Polyb., xxii. 13.) See in Cicero's *Verrines* the statues that Verres caused to be erected throughout Sicily and even in Rome.

[3] *Decreverat id senatus propter effusos sumptus factos in ludos T. Sempronii ædilis, qui graves non modo Italiæ ac sociis Latini nominis, sed etiam provinciis externis fuerant.* (Livy, xl. 44.)

the State for fear of exciting ill will. To what have we come that one may do evil with impunity, but cannot with impunity do well?'"

Thus, to satisfy the new needs born of luxurious habits the nobles pillaged at once the treasury and the allies, and the senate condoned all extortions in advance by allowing the principle to be openly asserted that self-interest being the rule of conduct, whatever method was successful was justifiable. We cannot admit the assertion of Livy that up to this time the senate's policy had been extremely upright; but rather we must complain with the older senators that artifice has been substituted for bravery,[1] that to their unquestioned strength they had added perfidy, that having deprived the nations of their independence, it was now the design to deprive them of their wealth.

These lessons from so high an authority were not lost upon the populace, nor, above all, upon the army. It is evident that the extortions practised by the generals, and their independence of all authority, must have had a tendency to relax discipline in the ranks. The soldiers imitated their leaders, and the latter closed their eyes to excesses which their own conduct authorized. During the second Punic war the rapine of an army set Sardinia in insurrection.[2] But in the pleasures which these spoliations afforded, the legionaries lost their military virtues. Then came the shameful defeats of Licinius in the kingdom of Pergamus, of Manilius before Carthage, and of Mancinus under the walls of Numantia. Many deserted, like that C. Mattienus, whom the consuls caused to be beaten with rods in the presence of the recruits, and sold for a contemptible price; or else, if the war were very unprofitable, they imperiously demanded dismissal, like the army of Flaccus in the year 180. The soldiers of Scipio in Spain had already set this dangerous example.[4] During the war with Antiochus the army of Æmilius, notwithstanding their general's efforts and the formal

Phocæan Coin.[3]

[1] Livy, xlii. 47.

[2] Livy, xxiii. 32. Mutiny in the army of Sulpicius Galba and Villius in 199 (*id.*, xxxii. 3) difficulty in 192 of raising two legions for Liguria, where there was nothing to be gained, etc.

[3] On the obverse, a seal; on the reverse, a hollow square.

[4] See vol. i. p. 684.

agreement to the contrary, pillaged Phocæa, the prætor being only able to save such of the inhabitants as took refuge with him, and in the year 180 the horsemen of Cæpio attempted to burn their general alive in his tent. After having obtained the pillage of the whole of Epirus and 300 denarii apiece, the legionaries of Paulus Æmilius considered themselves ill-used, and endeavoured to have him refused a triumph. Already they had begun to put off upon slaves the burden of carrying their armour on the march; not less than 40,000 servants attended the 80,000 legionaries of another Cæpio. It was therefore great good fortune for Rome that no formidable enemy appeared at that time, and that before the Cimbri, the Social war, and Mithridates, discipline and military spirit had been restored by Marius.

To bring back the army to obedience was no very difficult task; a resolute will was sufficient, and Rome will often find men possessing that energy. But the military condition imposed upon the senate by so many conquests, the obligation always to have legions on foot in some provinces, produced a social phenomenon hitherto unknown. These constantly renewed expeditions were making of the service a profession, and preparing two centuries before the battle of Actium the permanent army of Augustus and of the empire. Formerly the people and the army were one; the long continuance of wars in remote countries effected the separation between the citizen and the soldier. Whilst the former was growing mendicant and venal, the latter forgot in the camp the ways of civil life, and from being a patriot, became a mercenary. Retained fifteen and twenty years under the standard without the opportunity, as in earlier days, of returning each winter to his home, the soldier made the camp his country, finding therein the satisfaction of all his wants.

Thus, under the pressure of events, all suffers change—army and people alike. It was inevitable, but the time was coming when these armies would give to their generals the power that the people formerly gave to its tribunes, and a military revolution was to be the logical sequence of the conquest of the world.

At Rome, a hungry crowd; in the camps, men who above all believe in the power of the sword; above both, an aristocracy very limited in number, who intend to reserve for themselves the

plunder of the world; such was the situation which is hidden from prejudiced eyes by the deceitful words, "the Roman republic" and "Roman liberty."

We have spoken only casually of a class which has been slowly forming below the senatorial aristocracy, that of the moneyed men who were to play an important part in the dissolution of Rome, as did the French financiers and farmers general in the decomposition of the old French society. At Rome, the census or enumeration of citizens and their fortunes taking place every five years, was a State duty, performed with religious solemnities. The State then ascertained what were its resources in men and money, and distributed the citizens in *classes* for voting purposes in accordance with their declared fortunes. This declaration included only property in land and all that appertained to it, *res mancipi*, such as harvests, slaves, cattle, all things attaching men to the soil, to the city. But the declaration did not include the *res nec mancipi*, that is to say, capital and manufactured products, which might easily be removed outside the city, and which the city, on account of their mobility, was not willing to recognize or to cover with the protection of her laws. Thus there grew up at Rome two classes of owners, those to whom their property gave political rights, and those to whom it gave none. These latter were the *ærarii*. It was the same in France in the time of the *pays légal*, when for admission to the great civic function of the electorate account was taken only of those sorts of property which paid a direct tax to the State. At that epoch, in France as in ancient Rome, there were ærarians, and as at Rome, there were among these persons rich men, and even men of high consideration in the State.

Much has been written on the contempt felt by the ancients for all forms of trade or commerce. What we have just said explains this point by the difference that these little cities, always in danger from their neighbours, felt obliged to make between landed property, which secured them ardent defenders, and that commercial wealth, easily hidden or removed in the moment of danger, which made its possessor not so much a fellow-citizen as a temporary resident. On this account a will or a sale dealing with landed property required originally to be sanctioned by the

people, and later by five citizens, representing the five classes of landed proprietors or true citizens.

But while the old Roman people was diminishing daily in number, those to whom it had refused a place in the State were making for themselves a place of great importance. The law had prohibited business to senatorial families, but, meanwhile, the extent of the empire, the victualling of the city and of the armies, the execution of great public works, roads, aqueducts, temples, basilicas, etc., were giving occasion for an enormous amount of business. All this the State abandoned to private enterprise. Italians and freedmen, enriched by petty traffic, undertook these public works, individually or in companies. The gains being enormous, those of the rich citizens who were not magistrates desired a share, and united themselves to these companies, especially after the conquest of Greece, Asia, and Africa had opened those regions to Roman speculators. In this way there occurred a division in the equestrian order that rated highest in the State. Those who were sons of senators thought only of succeeding to the paternal honours, the others of obscure origin, or, as new men, kept out of public office, undertook the collection of revenues and public works, and were designated *publicans*. Aristocratic pride gave way sometimes before the importance of the advantages to be gained, and it was admitted that traffic on a grand scale was no longer a disgrace.[1] But it was neither trade in any form, nor public works, nor banking which gave the surest profits.

The senate had carefully reserved for the proconsuls and prætors the political and military administration of the provinces, but faithful to the spirit of the heroic days, had not concerned itself with the details of the financial administration, which would have involved the creation of a numerous staff of officials. Every five years the censors farmed out the taxes at public auction, that is to say, for a sum of money paid down they gave over to private individuals, usually heads of companies (*mancipes*), the right to collect for the five years the taxes due to the State. The auction having been held, the higher bidders paid the sums they had offered, and then with a retinue of agents and slaves these publicans set off for the province which had been given up to them. Then

[1] Cicero says (*de Off.*, i. 42) that trade is more or less esteemed according as it is more or less wholesale.

began the most cruel extortions; in one case, instead of the 20,000 talents they were to levy in Asia, they wrung from the province 120,000. The governor, if he proposed to interfere, was bribed to silence, later they intimidated him, and there remained to the victims only the slow and dangerous resource of a complaint at Rome. During the second Punic war the publicans made themselves feared by the senate, and in the time of the conquest of Macedon it was an established opinion that where they were, either the public treasury was wronged or the subjects oppressed. It is curious to see these publicans turning the new ideas to their own profit, and denying in accordance with the doctrines of Euhemerus the divinity of the gods for the purpose of being allowed to levy taxes upon consecrated lands. A priest of Amphiaraüs, in Bœotia, claiming the immunity, received answer from the publican, "Pay," he replied, "your god is only a man!"[1]

The conquests made by barbarians are terrible. In three cities Genghis-Khan massacred 4,000,000 men. But when these nomadic invaders have carried their fury elsewhere quiet is restored, and the wounds made by the sword are so quickly stanched![2] But a nation of poor peasants, accustomed to make the earth yield all that it can, a people who as yet understood of civilization no more than some new material enjoyments, must revel in its victory and draw every possible advantage from the conquered country. Into the government of the world the Romans carried the habits of their private life. Trained to avarice by poverty, they were greedy, rapacious, pitiless, like Cato their model, like the usurer, who had been, and still was, so severe among themselves. More terrible than war, this spirit of extortion came down upon the provinces; the publicans were its instruments, and public hatred has branded the name. Moralists reproach them also, and usually with reason. At the same time we must remember that this financial power of the publicans was the first appearance in the Roman world of something very important in modern life, to which we can offer no objection, the power of capital, without which there could be

[1] Livy, xlv. 18; Cic., *de Nat. deor.*, iii. 19: *Negabant immortales esse ullos, qui aliquando homines fuissent.*

[2] [This is only true when a nation is not decaying. The permanent depopulation of Upper Asia was partly caused by these massacres. Thus the plagues in the days of M. Aurelius permanently weakened the decaying empire.—*Ed.*]

neither industry nor commerce, nor the prosperity of the masses. Our army contractors, our financiers on change, our undertakers of great public works, have they always been more honest than the old publicans? The latter had many slaves,[1] it will be said; but they also employed many freedmen and many of free birth, who, together with themselves, made a good living or even a fortune. Who were these overseers of workmen, *præfecti fabrum*, whom all governors of provinces and chiefs of legion gathered around them?[2] Balbus commenced in this way and ended with the consulship. Scipio Africanus said once, scornfully, "The same people has no right to be at once the king and the business agent of the world."[3] Men emerging from shops and counting-houses are destined, however, to become daily more and more important in Rome, since part of their wealth, employed in the purchase of land, will open to them the five classes of true citizens, even the very first. Separated from the patricians by their manners, and from the people by their wealth, this aristocracy of money will have neither the haughty ambition of the great nor the vulgar passions of the crowd; but it will have others, and it is this class which, disturbed in its speculations by the civil wars, will aid Julius and Octavius to re-establish order by converting the government of the many into the government of the one.

[1] This employment of slaves in financial affairs rendered it necessary to create a class of actions at law, *institoria* and *tributoria*, to give those with whom a slave had negotiated in his master's name the right to compel the latter to fulfil the engagements made in his name. (*Dig.*, xiv., under the heads iii. and iv.) M. Pardessus (*Collection des lois marit.*, i. 55) believes that these actions originated at an early period.

[2] In speaking of the great public works executed in Italy by Caius Gracchus, Appian says (*Bell civ.*, i. 23) that the tribune attached thus to his interests a multitude of workmen and labourers of all kinds.

[3] Cic., *de Rep.*; Festus, s. v. *Portitor*.

[4] De Witte, *Revue numism.*, 1862, p. 107. Reverse of a large bronze coin of Vespasian.

The Senate Personified.[4]

CHAPTER XXXVII.

STRIFE BETWEEN THE OLD AND NEW.

I.—The Reaction; Cato.

ALL the innovations which we have described irritated the conservative party; the past never disappears without a struggle. Cato made himself the leader of the resistance.

He was born at Tusculum in 233. His sanguine complexion, his piercing gray eyes, his determined air did not betoken an easy-going person, and an incisive use of language at the command of a ready intellect, which was well able to find the weak point in every argument, and to be successful in every undertaking, made him a person not to be overlooked.[1] An epigram current at the time of his death avers that Pluto dreaded to receive this man "always ready to bite." He was never accommodating; when Eumenes came to Rome he refused to see him. "But he is an upright man," they said, "and a friend to Rome." "It may be so," was Cato's answer, "but a king is by nature a carnivorous beast." He was scarcely more civil to the populace. One day, when the crowd called for a distribution of corn, he opposed the measure, and his address began with these words: "Citizens, it is hard to speak to the belly, which has no ears." A tribune suspected of poisoning proposed a bad law: "Young man," Cato said to him, "I know not which is worse, to drink your potions or to ratify your measures."

From his father Cato had inherited a small estate in the

[1] His name was Porcius; he was called Cato (*Catus*) on account of his shrewdness. Some authors place the date of his birth in the year 238. This is a mistake, for he says himself that he made his first campaign "at the age of seventeen, when Hannibal, still victorious, brought fire and sword into Italy." These words can refer to no other than the year 216, but we are forced to admit that both Plutarch and Livy are wrong in representing him to have died at the age of ninety.

Sabine country. There primitive manners still existed, and at the end of his ground he saw the hut and the seven acres which had formed the whole patrimony of Curius Dentatus. Cato was inspired by this great example of a frugal and laborious life. He truly said, "Idleness kills more men than labour does." And so daily he worked with his slaves, eating and drinking with them, in the winter clad in a simple tunic, in the summer stripped under the hottest sun. When field work was over he practised as an

Tusculum. From an engraving in the *Bibliothèque nationale*.[4]

advocate in the neighbouring towns, exercising himself in those combats which were to be the business of his life.

Economical on his own behalf as well as for the State, he was wont to say that whatever one could do without was dear, even at an *obol*, and so long as he was in command of the legions he took from the public granaries, for himself and his suite, but four and a half bushels of corn a month. During his consulship his dinner never cost him more than thirty *ases*, and on returning

from Spain he sold his charger to save the State the expense of transport. It is true that he auctioned his sick or aged slaves. "For my part," says Plutarch, "I could not have the heart to sell my old ox who had used up his strength in ploughing my field." But this was a refinement which Cato did not at all understand. His calm, precise mind lacked elevation and grandeur. The Roman is, above all things, the man of business, and Cato was more Roman than any of them. Elegance in mind or manners, love of the arts, seemed to him criminal tastes;[1] he so loved the merely useful as even to sacrifice to it the noble. But we must not forget his fine definition of the orator: "The upright man, expert in fine language."

It remained still the custom at Rome for men of rank to seek out and advance to public office young plebeians of promising talent. This was useful to the State and also to the patron, securing to the Republic good servants, and to the aristocracy devoted clients. The English nobility act thus to their great advantage. At times the dependent disappointed the expectations of his patron; thus Marius became the mortal enemy of Metellus, who had opened to him a public career; but Cato attaining the highest honours in the State, remained friendly to the man who had founded his fortunes; this was the noblest patrician in Rome,[3] Valerius Flaccus. Having personal knowledge of the stern virtues and of the talents of Cato, Valerius induced him to come to Rome, and there supported him with his influence, and Cato, though a new man, was able before he had reached the age of thirty to attain the legionary tribuneship.[4] Later he was sent into Sicily

Coin of Cato.[2]

[1] He affected a contempt for the Greek muses: *Quandocumque ista gens suas litteras dabit, omnia corrumpet.* (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xxix. 1.) He regarded Socrates as an old babbler; he ridiculed the school of eloquence taught by Isocrates and the pupils who continued for years with him, as if they were waiting to plead before Pluto.

[2] M. CATO. PRO. PR. ROMA. Head of Liberty. On the reverse, the word VICTRIX, engraved beneath a seated Victory. Silver coin of the Porcian *gens*.

[3] Concerning the privileges enjoyed by the *gens Valeria*, see Dionysius, v. 39; Plutarch *Publ.*, 20 and 23; Livy, ii. 31; Cic., *de Leg.*, ii. 23.

[4] As early as this time he manifested the severity of his principles by contributing to the passing of the *lex Cincia*, which forbade judges to accept fees or receive presents. (Livy, xxxiv. 1; Cic., *de Orat.*, ii. 7; Tac., *Ann.*, ii. 5.)

as quæstor with Scipio. While delayed there by his preparations, Scipio at Syracuse amused himself with studying the brilliant literature of Greece, and lived surrounded by books, luxury, and amusements. Cato, who was not friendly to the Greeks, was irritated by this extravagance and self-indulgence; he expressed his dissatisfaction, but the general replied proudly that he should render account at Rome of his victories, and not of a few sesterces, and that he did not require so exact a quæstor, and thereupon dismissed Cato. The latter returned to Rome to swell the number of

Ruins at Syracuse. (From an engraving in the *Bibliothèque nationale*.)

Scipio's enemies gathered around Fabius Cunctator, his former chief. This, according to Plutarch, was the origin of that hatred with which Cato pursued Africanus even to the tomb. But Livy says nothing about this quarrel; he, on the contrary, shows us Scipio dividing between Lælius and Cato the command of the left wing of his fleet in the passage from Sicily to Africa. Dislike resulted too directly from the characters and manners of the two

men for us to suppose recriminations to have passed between them. Scipio, who had all the tastes of a superior mind and a refined soul, desired his countrymen to unite to the achievements of war and of state-craft those of the intellect. He had learned to love studious leisure, and the great poets and artists of Greece[1] had opened to his mind those wide horizons in which personal objects disappear, and even the city itself is lost from sight.[2] Scipio, spoiled by successes and by his own genius, forgot that he was the citizen of a Republic whose first law was equality. His former quæstor cruelly reminded him of this.

After filling the office of plebeian ædile, Cato received the prætorship of Sardinia, in which office he gave conspicuous instances

1 2 3 4 5

Phœnician *Scarabæi*, found in Sardinia.[3]

of his severity and of his honesty. He banished all usurers from the island, and he refused the money which the province, in

[1] Scipio erected in the Capitol, in front of the street leading to the temple, an arch of triumph ornamented with seven gilded statues, two horses, and four marble basins. (Livy, xxxvii. 3.) His second son wrote a history in Greek. (Cic., *de Sen.*, 35; Brutus, 77.) Lucius Scipio erected his own statue in the Capitol with the chlamys and sandals. (Val. Max., ii. 6.)

[2] *Si quis, illo Pacuviano invehens alitum anguium curru, multas et varias gentes et urbes despicere et oculis collustrare possit.* (Cic., *de Rep.*, iii. 9.)

[3] The *Gazette archéologique* has published, with a learned explanatory note (vol. iii. p. 74) by M. Mansell, four Phœnician *scarabæi* found in a necropolis in Sardinia. The intaglios here represented twice their real size are cut in the under side of each of these scarabæi, which were at once a symbol of immortality placed within the tomb to console the dead, and an amulet worn by the living to preserve from harm. The subjects represented show the fusion effected between the different religions of antiquity, and render them specially interesting. Nos. 1 and 2 show those beings called in scripture *satyrs*, in the Septuagint δαιμόνια, and by St. Jerome *incubonas vel satyros*. They are, in fact, very good representations of the Greek and Roman satyr; they carry drinking-cups, and seemed already intoxicated. In No. 3 are four mice surrounding a basket, and in No. 5 an ant; the rat, in the East as well as in Rome, was a prophetic animal. [But there is no word in either Greek or Latin for the rat, which they can hardly have known.—*Ed.*] The fly in No. 4 recalls the Baal-Zebub or god of flies of the Bible, the great god of Ekron, who had a famous oracle in the country of the Philistines. Chaldæan books give a prophetic power to flies, as the Phrygian legend of Midas to ants. No. 5 is taken from Della Marmora's work, *Sopra alcune antichite sarde*, pl. B, No. 94.

accordance with the usual custom, voted him. This conduct and the severity of his morals, exceptional in the corrupt city, combined with his rough eloquence, drew all eyes upon him. The people loved their stern censor. They did not obey him, but they applauded him, and Cato crossing the Forum in his cheap attire or reproving the crowd from the platform and preventing a gratuitous distribution of corn, was more respected and listened to than the habitual flatterers of the people. In the year 195 the comitia raised him to the consulship with his friend Valerius Flaccus.

A Matron.[2]

Greece was not yet pacified; Antiochus was threatening, and Hannibal had not left Carthage; Spain and the Cisalpine were in insurrection, but Spain and Gaul, Hannibal and the king of Syria, were all for the moment forgotten. Vainly did kings or people demand attention; one subject only occupied senate, consuls, tribunes, and divided the public mind; should Roman matrons be permitted to wear more than half an ounce of gold, or a dress of divers colours, or to ride in a carriage in the city? This was the question which aroused stormy debates; these were the prohibitions instituted by the Oppian law in the darkest hours of the second Punic war, and they had hardly been obeyed, if we may judge by the luxury which the wife of Scipio Africanus displayed in public. "When she left home to go to the temple," says a family friend, "she seated herself in a glittering chariot, herself

[1] He would never wear a toga costing over 100 drachmæ.

[2] Bronze of heroic size found at Resina in 1745. (Roux, *Herculanum et Pompéi*, vol. vi. 1st Series, pl. 67.) This figure, clad in a long tunic, is also wrapped in an ample mantle, which, falling from the head, is parted on the breast by the hands, in the attitude of prayer.

attired with extreme luxury. Before her were carried with solemn ceremony the vases of gold and silver required for the sacrifice and a numerous train of slaves and servants accompanied her." [1] Two tribunes now proposed the abrogation of this sumptuary law. The Capitol was thronged with the partisans of the opposing sides, and the matrons themselves besieged the Forum and wearied out the magistrates with their tumultuous solicitations. But in the consul, Porcius Cato, they found an inflexible opponent. "If, Romans," Livy makes him say, "every individual among us had made it a rule to maintain the authority of a husband over his own wife, we should have had no trouble to-day with all these women, but now because we are unable to withstand each separately we now dread their collective force. . . . If then you suffer them to throw off their restrictions, and at last to be set on an equal footing with yourselves, can you

Silver Vase.[2]

[1] Polybius, xxxii. 12.

[2] The Bernay Collection (*Cabinet de France*, No. 2804). "This beautiful vase belonged to one of those pairs (*paria, synthesis*) that the ancients delighted to put together. (The Bernay Collection alone contains nine pair of vases.) The handle, of silver, is attached to the vase by a tragic mask, and at the top by two Medusa heads; these ornaments, like the other bas-reliefs, are *repoussés*. The egg patterns and leaves which decorate the upper edge and divide the two rows of figures are the only part chased. In the lower row the silversmith has represented Achilles weeping over the body of Patroclus and the ransom of Hector. Around the neck is

imagine that they will be any longer tolerable? . . . . Often have you heard me complain that the State was endangered by two opposite vices, luxury and avarice, those pests which have been the ruin of all great empires. These I dread the more as our circumstances grow daily more prosperous and happy; as the empire increases, as we have now passed over into Greece and Asia, places abounding with every kind of temptation that can inflame the passions, and as we have begun to handle even royal treasures; so much the more do I fear that this riches will end by conquering us. Believe me, those statues from Syracuse were brought into this city to no good.[2] I already hear too many commending and admiring the friezes of Athens and Corinth, and ridiculing

Venus of Cnidus.[1]

the carrying off of the palladium. The composition on the matching vase represents Achilles dragging Hector's body and the death of Achilles, and upon the neck, Ulysses and Dolon. The elegance of the vase, its perfect adaptation to the use designed, the good taste of the relief and of the composition, seem to place it in the best period of art, but a certain heaviness in the figures, and details rather Roman than Greek, scarcely agree with this theory; we have, doubtless, in this vase an instance of what Roman work could produce, while yet faithful to Greek taste." (Saglio's *Dict. des antiq. grecq. et rom.*, p. 805–6.)

[1] Ancient copy of the great work of Praxiteles. Museum of the Louvre, No. 59 of the Clarac catalogue. We do not know whether this statue had already been brought to Rome, but Cato had seen enough of the fair divinities of Greece to dread the comparison with the shapeless deities of early Rome.

the earthen images of our Roman gods. For my part I prefer these gods, propitious as they are, and I hope will continue to be, if we allow them to remain in their own mansions."

Plautus also had lately exhibited in the theatre a biting satire on the luxury of the matrons, showing them walking the streets decked out with estates, *fundis exornatæ*,[1] as Du Bellay later said of the courtiers of Francis I., that their mills, their forests,

Greek Frieze brought to Rome, representing Minerva, Argus, and Tiphys.[2]

and farms were upon their backs. But poet and consul both failed; the law was abrogated, as it deserved to be. The new manners born of victory were stronger than this sumptuary law, made in a time of peril and public destitution.

[1] In the *Epidicus*. Notice in the *Aulularia* the long tirades of Megadorus. This play, one of the best works of Plautus, undoubtedly belongs to the time when this question of the Oppian law agitated the minds of all.

[2] In the British Museum. Frieze found at Rome, representing Minerva superintending the construction of the ship Argo; Argus works, while the goddess aids the pilot Tiphys to fold the sails. (Müller, *Monum.*, pl. xxxii. No. 238.)

Cato immediately set off for Spain. Upon his arrival he dismissed all the contractors. "The war shall support the war," he said. Scipio, content with possessing the affection of his soldiers, and sure to find them brave and obedient on the day of battle, often closed his eyes to their pleasures and their excesses. Cato, severe towards others as towards himself, was not the man to tamper with discipline. Continual drilling and indefatigable vigilance gave his army the appearance of the old legions. This campaign, which Cato recorded, did much honour to his military talents, and gave him a triumph; his conduct at the battle of Thermopylæ also added to his reputation.

II.—Cato opposed to the Scipios.

Meanwhile the opposition towards Scipio increased daily in the senate and among the people. Since that apotheosis, after his triumph, which he had refused, envy had marked him for its prey; and Cato, who dared not yet encounter him openly, encouraged the sharp attacks of Nævius and Plautus, the popular poets of the day. Nævius especially, a veteran of the first Punic war, which he sang in Saturnian verses, pursued the great men of Rome with his bitter raillery.[1] "More than gold I love liberty! Submit then; this people submits well; do you know who will soon destroy your fine Republic?" He once dared to rail at the Metelli: "It is luck, not their services, that makes them consuls!"[2] They retorted by a line in the same measure: "The Metelli will bring woe to Nævius the poet" (*Dabunt malum Metelli Nævio poetæ*). And they did so; Nævius was thrown into prison under a law of the Twelve Tables against the defamatory verses. Plautus, his friend, pleaded for him in the theatre; with an assumed comic horror at the punishment inflicted upon the poet, whom he had seen in gloomy confinement, with irons on his feet day and night. Nævius retracted, and composed two pieces to

[1] Cf. Klussmann, *Cn. Naevii vita et reliquiæ*, 1843.

[2] The line [*Fato fiunt Metelli Romæ consules*] may also mean, "It is for the ruin of Rome that the Metelli become consuls."

disavow his petulant attacks.[1] At this price he obtained from the tribunes his liberty. But he soon recommenced, and this time did not fear to attack the regal power of Scipio. "What!" he says, "that which I applaud in the theatre, shall I not dare to wound therewith the ear of one of our kings?[2] Alas! slavery now stifles liberty; but at the games of Bacchus we will speak with free voice." In another of his pieces he attacked the austere reputation for morality, which the hero had so skilfully secured; upon this Scipio became exasperated, and the incorrigible poet was sent into exile and interned at Utica.

Plautus, warned by this example, no longer dared to mention

Wine Cart.[3]

names, but there are few of his pieces in which he does not deplore the loss of the early simplicity and attack the manners of the times. Notice his picture of the rhetoricians and philosophers, Scipio's favourite friends: "Those Greeks who, under their long

[1] *Cum in his . . . . fabulis, delicta sua et petulantias dictorum, quibus multos ante læserat diluisset.* (Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Att.*, iii. 3.)

[2] *Quemquam regem rumpere.*

[3] From a fresco found at Pompeii in a *thermopolium*. (See also on next page the drinking scene from the same source.) The first of these represents a cart containing an immense skin for the transportation of wine; the second, a tavern scene: two of the party (perhaps women) have their heads covered with a kind of hood worn at the present day upon parts of the Italian sea-coast by sailors and fishermen. The drinkers have evidently exhausted their supply, for two cups or drinking-horns are inverted, and a young *pocillator* is bringing fresh ones. Along the wall are hung provisions—sausages, vegetables, etc.; characters are traced upon the wall, as in the pot-houses of our time. (Cf. Roux, *Herculanum et Pompéi*, vol. iii. pp. 65–7, and Rich, *Greek and Roman Antiquities* under the words *Carnarium* and *Caupona*.)

cloaks stuffed with books and with the provisions they have begged, assemble, confer, and walk together, all bristling with maxims. At all hours you will find them encamped at Thermo-polium, intoxicating themselves with long draughts. When they steal something, they quickly run away with veiled heads, drink it hot, then return gravely trying to steady themselves upon their drunken legs."[1] And elsewhere of a slave meditating some rascality: "Behold him, about to philosophize!"

But Plautus does not venture very far upon the dangerous ground of political allusions; he had rather paint the manners of

Drinking Scene.[2]

the lower classes—the knavish valet, the profligate and deluded old man, the usurer of the Forum, the parasite, and the young slave-girl, inevitably declared free in the denouement. [All this was borrowed directly from the Greeks.] By this discretion Plautus only gained the advantage of being overlooked. The favour of the

[1] *Curcul.*, II. iii. 13, *seq.* *Thermopolium*, wine shop, properly a place where heated wine is drank. The Latin word is retained in the translation to preserve the ironical allusion to Thermopylæ. The Romans were fond of mulled wine. Cf. also *Pseudolus*, IV. iii. 18.

[2] See preceding page, note 3.

aristocracy was reserved for Ennius, for Andronicus and Terence, elegant copyists of Greece and supple worshippers of fortune. Ennius was buried with the Scipios; Terence lived in intimate relations with them.[1] As for the poets of the people, Nævius[2] died in exile, and if Plautus was not reduced to turn a mill, as he had begun, it does not appear that his favour with the people was ever a compensation for what he lost by satirizing the great men.

The party of the old Romans was defeated in the persons of its poets. Cato avenged it.

In a republic, whoever ceases to rise begins to decline. Scipio could not remain at the height where the victory of Zama had placed him. It was in vain that he obtained the offices of prince of the senate and of censor, showed in the latter office extreme indulgence, accused an extortioner, L. Cotta,[3] and finally caused himself to be sent into Africa to allay the strife between Carthage and Masinissa, which he did not allay;[4] his popularity was waning. Flamininus, Cato even, were the heroes of the day. To recall the attention of the people he solicited in 194 a second consulship; this was an error on his part, for this second tenure brought him no distinction,[5] and he gave offence to the people by assigning to senators particular places in the theatre.[6] When, therefore, in 192, he solicited the office of consul for his son-in-law, Scipio Nasica, and for his friend Lælius, he met with a double refusal. His brother, however, was elected two years later and entrusted with the command in Asia, whither Africanus went also, but this campaign, more brilliant than difficult, added nothing to his fame and cost him the repose of his later life. From that

[1] Whatever has been said to the contrary, Terence had some fortune, for he married his daughter to a Roman knight, and left her twenty acres of gardens along the Appian Way.

[2] Cicero and all commentators following him represent Nævius to have died in 204. But the verses against Scipio could not have been written till after the battle of Zama. In 204 Scipio could not be spoken of as accused and almost deprived of his command, as Nævius speaks of him; the satire at that period would have had no echo; the exile to Utica could not have taken place until after the second Punic war. Varro, moreover, makes the date much later: *vitam Nævii producit longius* (Cic., *Brut.*, 15), to 199, according to Teuffel in his *Hist. Lat. Lit.*

[3] Cic., *in Cæcil.*, 21.

[4] Livy, xxxiv. 62. Livy and Plutarch also represent him as going into Asia ambassador to Antiochus; we have already (vol. ii. p. 43) expressed our doubts on this subject.

[5] According to Plutarch he hastened to take Cato's place in Spain; Livy represents him as going no further than the Cisalpine, but both agree in describing this consulship as of little importance.

[6] On the subject of this attack upon equality, see Livy, xxxix. 54, and Val. Max., II. iv. 3.

time onward, to quote the energetic language of Livy, Cato never ceased barking at this great citizen. But Cato, hard and dry of heart, though he had been Scipio's quæstor, had not adopted those sentiments of respect and filial piety which, in the opinion of the time, were due from the quæstor to his chief. At Thermopylæ, Acilius, exaggerating the services of Cato, had declared in the presence of the whole army that the victory was due to him, but when Acilius sued for the censorship Cato forgot the consul's noble conduct, entered the field as a competitor, and to make the defeat of Acilius more secure, brought against him an accusation of embezzlement of public funds. For a man who prided himself on his old-fashioned morality this was hardly following the examples of early days, or at least the virtues which all men, himself included, ascribed to those times.

At his instigation the two Petilii, tribunes of the people, summoned L. Scipio to account for the treasures delivered up by Antiochus (187). When he had brought his books into court Africanus seized them: "The details are there," he cried, "but they shall not be seen," and he tore them up; "it shall never be said that I have undergone the affront of being obliged to give account of 4,000,000 sesterces when I have poured 200,000,000 into the treasury."

The senate possessed no means of coercing Scipio, and finance did not concern the popular assembly. But above this unwritten constitution of Rome was the idea of popular sovereignty and the right, in consequence, of the comitia of the tribes to intervene when the established authorities proved inefficient. It was in virtue of this right that the tribunes later became so formidable when they separated from the senate, and when that day did come the Republic was gone.

The Petilii presented to the tribes a proposal, which Cato supported in a violent speech, to insist that the senate should institute a judicial commission to examine whether all the spoils of Asia had been lodged in the treasury. It is likely that there were financial irregularities in connection with the expedition. But Manlius Vulso had certainly been guilty of many worse prodigalities or dishonesties. One of the ten commissioners who had been associated with him endeavoured to have him included in

the prosecution. But Cato, urged by hatred, would have but a single defendant, that his vengeance might be more certain. The senators were obliged to obey the popular decree, and the tribunal, established under the presidency of the prætor Terentius Culleo, declared L. Scipio, his quæstor, and one of his lieutenants, A. Hostilius, guilty of peculation. The restitution demanded was 4,000,000 denarii. "Unless this sum is paid into the treasury, or security be given for its payment," said the prætor, "L. Scipio shall go to prison." Gracchus, one of the tribunes, opposed his veto to this decree. "Long since an enemy of the Scipios," he cried, "I swear I am so still, and I have no desire to seek to gain their favour by my present course. But the prison to which I have seen Africanus lead so many foreign kings and generals shall not close upon his brother." And he directed that L. Scipio should be set at liberty. But Scipio's property was seized and sold, all of which proved insufficient to pay the fine, his poverty proving his innocence. His relatives and friends were eager to make up to him what he had lost, but he accepted only enough for the barest necessaries of life (187).[1]

Roman Athletes.[2]

A year later, being sent into Asia to put an end to the disputes between the kings of Pergamus and Syria, he received from these princes and from the cities in alliance with Rome presents enough to enable him to celebrate on his return with great magnificence games that lasted ten days, in which were displayed all the curiosities that Asia and Africa could offer—athletic combats, hunts of lions and panthers, and scenic representations. The man whose condemnation Cato had procured became again the favourite of the people.

[1] Cicero extols, in one of his orations against Verres, the disinterestedness of Scipio Asiaticus, and in the *de Officiis* that of Africanus. (ii. 22.) [But this evidence, as well as the sale of his (immovable) property, is but poor evidence against the general belief in his embezzlements, nor does his subsequent display to the people seem consistent with the indignation of injured innocence.—*Ed.*]

[2] Wrestlers at the pancration. (*Museo Pio Clementino*, v. pl. 36, and Saglio, *op. cit.*, fig. 520.)

But the rude peasant of the Sabine country was tenacious in his hatred; Asiaticus having escaped him, he set on foot a criminal proceeding against Africanus before the tribes. "We must," he said, "bring down to the level of republican equality this proud citizen, whose example encourages contempt of the laws and magistrates and disdain for the customs and institutions of the country." The tribune Nævius accused Scipio of having sold peace to the king of Syria.

On the appointed day Africanus appeared, surrounded by a

Scenic Representation.[1]

numerous crowd of friends and clients. "Tribunes of the people and you, Romans," he said, with splendid arrogance, "on the anniversary of this day I conquered Hannibal and the Carthaginians. As therefore it is but decent for this day to adjourn

[1] Two female magicians with horses' hoofs, emblem of infernal power. It is possible they are Hippopodes, a Scythian nation, whose country is famous in the annals of magic; one of their cities was an Egyptian colony. (Cf. Roux, *Herculanum et Pompéi*, vol. iii. pl. 125 and p. 64.)

litigation, I go now to the Capitol, there to return thanks to the gods. Come with me and beseech the gods that you may have commanders like myself, since if you have anticipated my years with honours, I have anticipated your honours with services." Accordingly he went up from the rostrum to the Capitol, and the whole assembly followed him, leaving the tribunes alone with their slaves and the crier. Scipio thus attended visited in turn

Ruins of the Tomb of the Cornelii (a branch of the Scipios) upon the Appian Way.[1]

all the temples in the city, and the day was more of a triumph to him than that on which he led captive Syphax and the Carthaginians, for he now triumphed over the tribunes and over the people of Rome themselves.[2]

On another occasion he exclaimed, "I have brought back from Africa but a name." And forseeing nothing but new attacks

[1] From an engraving by Piranesi in the *Bibliothèque nationale.*

[2] Livy, xxxviii. 51. In Aulus Gellius and Polybius (xxiv. 9), words, names, and circumstances are given differently. Livy himself avows that these last years of Scipio are full of uncertainties.

from envy and continual disputes with the tribunes, he withdrew to Liternum, determined not to attend the trial. The day arriving when he was summoned, L. Scipio pleaded the excuse of sickness. This the two tribunes would not accept, and were about to proceed to some violent measure when Sempronius Gracchus again intervened, delaring that the plea of sickness should be accepted, and reproaching his countrymen sharply for their lack of respect for so eminent a citizen. "Will men of illustrious character never," he exclaimed, "through their own merits, or through honours conferred by you, arrive at a safe and inviolable sanctuary where their old age may repose, if not revered, at least secure from injury?" The affair was abandoned, and the senate thanked Tiberius Gracchus for having consulted the public good rather than his personal feelings.

Having thus withdrawn to Liternum, Scipio finished his days there, devoting himself to the muses in a villa which the humblest of Seneca's contemporaries would have despised. Ennius came often to read to him his verses, and to seek from the conqueror of Hannibal inspiration for a poem upon the second Punic war. A monument consecrated the memory of this friendship between the poet and the hero. The Scipios placed a statue of Ennius between those of Asiaticus and Africanus upon the cenotaph erected by them near the Porta Capena. Tradition tells that in the solitude of Liternum pirates landed one day, coming from a remote country. Scipio armed his slaves, but no sooner were the brigands aware whose was the house than they threw down their arms, and approaching placed upon the threshold gifts like those offered to the gods.[1] Polybius places the death of Africanus in the same year with that of Philopœmen and of Hannibal (183). What is believed to be his tomb is shown at Patrica, the ancient Liternum, and the second word of the inscription which was engraved by his own order: "Ungrateful country, thou shalt not have my ashes."[2]

Ennius had composed for him another epitaph: "Here lies

[1] Val. Max., II. x.

[2] Whatever has been said on this point, we find it impossible to imagine Scipio embezzling the public funds. A man who had done such great things could never have sunk to meanness like this, especially one who, like Scipio, acted the part of the demigod. Notwithstanding the anecdote related by Val. Maximus of the dowry of 10,000 *ases* given to the daughter of Caius

a man whose exploits could never be suitably rewarded," and he makes the hero say: "From the lands of the rising sun, beyond the Palus Mœotis, no man can measure his exploits with mine. If to mortal man it be permitted to ascend into the region where dwell the immortal gods, to me shall open the wide portal of the skies." These words are certainly not modest, but it was allowable for the poet to put them into his hero's mouth. Modesty, moreover, was never a Roman virtue, and men would readily have forgiven the saviour of Rome if he possessed none of it.

III.—The Censorship of Cato.

Cato was triumphant. The Scipios were humbled, and all the aristocracy with them. After the discovery of the Bacchanalia, the people, notwithstanding the keen opposition of the nobles, gave even the office of censor to this new man, whose hatred for all that was high corresponded with that instinctive jealousy which recurs in every mob when calm and prosperous times return. Cato had not so much sued for this office as demanded it, yet he would not have it except in company with his friend and early protector, Valerius Flaccus (184). "The city needs to be purified," he said, "and it is not the most agreeable physician, but the severest, that she requires." The aristocracy and the *publicani* were roughly handled He expelled seven members of the senate, among them a consular, the brother of Flamininus, and Manilius, a candidate for the consulship. The examination of the equestrian order was equally severe, but when he deprived L. Scipio of his horse, after having already ruined him, he was suspected of envy, says his biographer; it was thought he did this only to insult

Scipio, the family must have been a rich one, for Asiaticus and Africanus, very young, sought and obtained together the burdensome office of ædiles (Polybius, x. 4), but their wealth was that of an early period. Africanus fixed the dowry of each of his daughters at fifty talents, it is true, but he gave nothing while he was alive, and after his death his widow was able to pay to the sons-in-law but half of what had been promised to them. The remainder was finally paid by Scipio Æmilianus after the death of Æmilia. Nor was this sum of fifty talents an extraordinary dowry, since Plutarch affirms that Paulus Æmilius left scarcely enough to pay his wife's dower (Paul. Æmil., 4), estimating the value of his estate at 370,000 drachmæ (*ibid.*, 43), or, like Polybius, at more than sixty talents. As to Scipio's buildings, his villa of Liternum was very modest. (See Seneca's letter dated from that village.)

Africanus and once more to defy the entire nobility in the person of a Scipio. Not content with the official censure, he added violent language[1] or scandalous revelations. Flamininus having impudently asked the reason of the disgrace Cato had inflicted on his house; the censor told the following fact: in going to take command of his province Flamininus had taken with him a favourite boy; this person one day reproaching him during a feast with having taken him away from Rome on the eve of a gladiatorial display; at the moment a Gaul of high rank had just presented himself at the consul's tent imploring protection for himself and family. "Since you missed the show of gladiators," said Flamininus, "would you like to see this man die?" On the boy's approval, the consul seized his sword, struck the Gaul while he was yet speaking, and laid him dead at the feet of his minion. The Flaminini, like the Scipios, were therefore humbled; the Galbas were to have their turn, and the Fulvii, often attacked by Cato, escaped his blows only to fall by the censure of one of their own relatives.[2]

The finances at this time were in the worst possible condition. Cato farmed out the revenues at a very high price, and made advantageous contracts for public works. This integrity excited such clamour among the publicans that the senate, gained over by the faction of Flamininus,[3] broke the leases, declared the sales invalid, ordered new assignments, and granted discounts, no doubt for the interest of the State, but certainly also of individuals; some tribunes of this party went so far as to cite Cato before the popular assembly, that he might be condemned to pay a fine of two talents. The censors reluctantly obeyed the senate; they assigned contracts for the revenue at slight reductions, but by way of punishment to those who had broken their first engagements denied all such persons the right to bid. These measures were well meant, but trivial, short-sighted attempts to save the State by an imitation of the severe integrity of earlier times on the part of men who had no conception of the vast and thorough reforms of which the Republic had need.

[1] *Acerbæ orationes . . . . in eos quos.* (Livy, xxxix. 42.)

[2] In 176, Fulvius the censor degraded his own brother from the senate.

[3] Plutarch, *Cat.*, 17.

Cato further took revenge during this censorship for the defeat that he had suffered in the matter of the Oppian law; he included in the enumeration of property owned by the citizens the womens' dress, ornaments, and carriages, and ordered further that young slaves bought since the last census should be valued at ten times the price they had cost, and should be taxed one-third per cent. Water at Rome and in its arid neighbourhood was a matter of the first

Sources of the Anio, near Subiaco.[1]

necessity, but most of the aqueducts being then for the larger part of their course subterranean, like the *Aqua Appia*, the *Anio Vetus*, and the *Aqua Marcia*, fraud was easy; a strict examination brought to light many thefts of water, impoverishing the public supply, to the profit of wealthy landowners. These the censors

[1] The Anio, whose head-waters were remarkably cold and limpid, fed two aqueducts, the *Anio Vetus* (271), which began but twenty miles distant from Rome, below the city of Tibur, and the *Anio Novus*, constructed by the Emperor Claudius, who took the water much higher, at a point forty-two miles from Rome and only six from Subiaco (*Sublaqueum*).

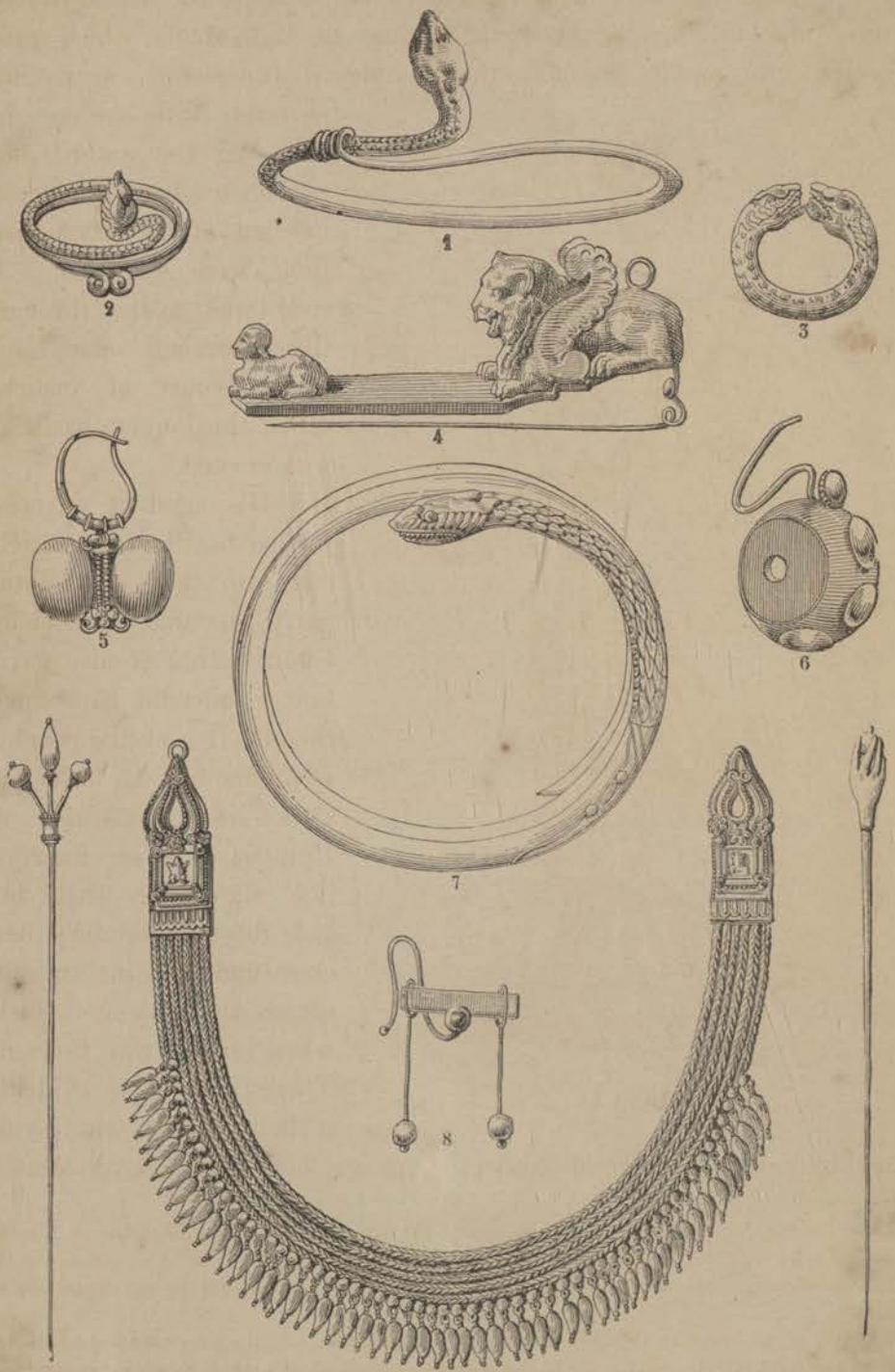
suppressed, and they also caused to be demolished within thirty days all buildings or sheds belonging to individuals which projected into public ground; they employed contractors in paving cisterns with stone, in cleansing the sewers, and in constructing others in quarters of the city where they were required. A road was made through the Formian mountain, and a court of justice, called the Porcian basilica, was erected.

Hygieia.[1]

His conduct as censor, so hostile to the rich and to the aristocratic party, procured him violent enmities, but it also gave him a splendid name and the affection of the people, who erected to him a statue in the temple of Hygieia, with an inscription signifying that he had through salutary decrees and wise institutions saved the commonwealth when on the way to ruin. There was, it is evident, a large party who sympathized with the rigid censor. At its head Cato never ceased

[1] Louvre, No. 84 of the Clarac catalogue. Hygieia, one of the four daughters of Æsculapius, was by reason of this reckoned among the tutelary divinities. She is represented in the Louvre offering to the mystic serpent the emblem of health or of life, the cup containing his food.

[2] Women's jewels (full-page illustration):—1. Bracelet. 2. Ring representing a little serpent, the head raised. (Roux, *Herculanum et Pompéi*, vii. pl. 94.) 3. Ring with double-headed serpent. (Roux, *ibid.*) 4. Pin. 5, 6. Earrings. (Niccolini.) 7. Bracelets in the form of a serpent, the eyes a disk of silver. (Roux, *ibid.*) 8. Earring with double pendant of pearls, shape frequently found in excavations. 9. Radiated collar, *monile radiatum*, band formed



Jewels (see note 2, p. 362).

to combat the ambition, avidity, and luxury of the great, sometimes by accusations of individuals, sometimes by enforcing the sumptuary laws, which have never been efficient, and by all those propositions which gave new but useless guarantees to old institutions. Among these are:—

In 181 a law against the custom of soliciting office, and the

Hygieia and Æsculapius.[1]

Orchian law, to limit the number of guests and the expense of feasts.[2]

In 180 the Villian, or *lex Annalis*, repressing the office-seekers' canvass still further by requiring every candidate to give proof that he had made ten campaigns, and by fixing the age requisite before a man might hold office as follows: thirty-one for the quæstorship: thirty-seven for the curule ædileship; forty for the prætorship;

of scales ingeniously interlaced, to which are attached seventy-one pendants; each side of the clasp, decorated with a frog, had a ruby cut pear-shaped; one only has come down to us. (Roux, *ibid.*) 10, 11. Hair-pins.

[1] Bas-relief in marble from the Pio Clementino Museum.

[2] Macrobius, *Saturn.*, iii. 17. See also Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Att.*, xv. 9.

forty-three for the consulship; an interval of at least two years being required between holding any two of these magistracies.[1]

No. 1.

No. 2.

Dainties.[4]

In 169 the *Voconian* law, to prevent, as at Sparta, the accumulation of property in female hands.[2]

In 161 the *Fannian* law, against luxury of the table.[3]

[1] Cic., *Fam.*, x. 25. Other calculations, founded on the necessity of the ten campaigns, which might begin at the age of seventeen, bring the age for the quæstorship lower.

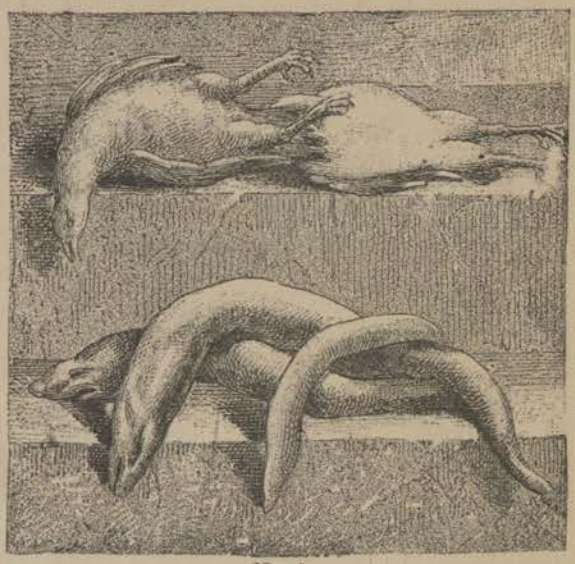
[2] A woman could neither be made general legatee nor could she receive more than 100,000 *sesterces* (Dion., lvi. 10), or a legacy larger than that of the principal heir. (Aulus Gellius, vii. 13, xvii. 6; Cic., *II in Verr.*, i. 42, 43; *pro Balbo*, 8; *de Senec.*, 5.) The Furian law (183) forbade to leave more than 1,000 *ases* to any one individual [not the direct heir?]. An attempt was made by these laws to prevent the excess of legacies which parcelled out estates and brought about the extinction or impoverishment of old families. (Cic., *II in Verr.*, i. 40.)

[3] This law limited to 100 *ases* the expense of banquets given during the Roman and plebeian games, the saturnalia, and other of the great holidays; to thirty *ases* for other sacred days; finally to ten for ordinary repasts. Certain meats and drinks it forbade absolutely. (Aulus Gellius, II. xxiv. 2-6; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, x. 50.) Not only the host, but the guests also were liable to the penalities of this law. These prohibitions were extended in 144 to all Italy by the Didian law. See in Macrobius (III. xvii. 4) the untranslatable discourse of an orator supporting the Fannian law: *Si quidem eo res redierat, ut gula illecti plerique ingenui pueri pudicitiam et libertatem suam venditarent; plerique ex plebe Romana, vino madidi, in comitium venirent et ebrii*, etc. These sumptuary laws were many times renewed, but always in vain.

[4] Pompeian paintings. (Roux, *Herculanum et Pompéi*, vol. v. 4th Series, pl. 49.) Part of

Finally, in 159 a consular law, with capital penalties against office-seekers convicted of bribery.

We may note further, as a symptom of the ideas then prevalent, that four years after this the consul Scipio Nasica caused a permanent theatre to be demolished because such an edifice would have been a standing temptation to a pleasure which the fathers of the Republic had not known.[1] In 169 Cato had instigated the decree that kings should not be allowed to come to Rome, where they always left behind them some of the vices of their courts; later he caused Carneades to be expelled, and sent home the Achæans, who had been detained in Italy. He did not even, after the fall of Perseus, feel willing to encourage a war with Rhodes, whither all generals and soldiers alike would have gone to seek



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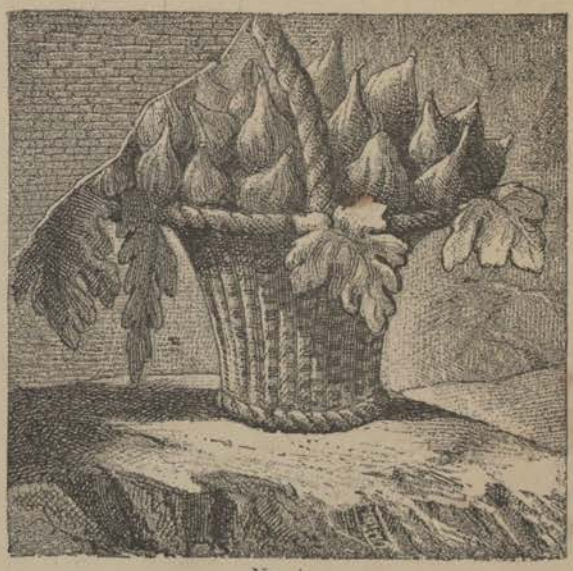


No. 4.
Dainties.

the decoration of a dining-room, which reveals to us the culinary tastes of the Romans:—No. 1. A fat chicken hanging beside a hare, the latter so highly esteemed that the proverb "to live on hare" had the meaning to live in great luxury. (Aristoph., *Vesp.*, 709, and the *scholia*.) No. 2. Thrushes and mushrooms. No. 3. Partridges, a lamprey, and an eel from the Ganges (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, ix. 3) or from Lake Copais. (Athenæus, vii. 13.) No. 4. A basket of figs for dessert. (Cf. Roux, *op. cit.*, vol. v. pp. 91–94.)

[1] These sumptuary laws were so futile that in 145 magnificent games were given by Mummius.

that which Manlius had brought back from Asia, namely, new wealth and new vices.[1] "I have no doubt," he said, with bitter and cynical eloquence, "I have no doubt that the Rhodians would have been glad to see us less successful in this war. They are not alone in wishing it. . . . Still they did nothing in aid of Perseus. . . . The Rhodians wished to become our enemies, but what law punishes this mere wish? Who will say that if a man wishes to have 500 acres of public land, or if he wishes to possess more flocks than the law permit, he shall for this be fined? Assuredly every one of us wishes to have more than is permitted to him; are we punished for this? Further, it is said, the Rhodians are arrogant; I should in truth be sorry that any one should address this reproach to me or to any of my family; but what is it to us if the Rhodians are arrogant? Is it possible that we take offence because there is a people in the world prouder than ourselves?"

Coin of Cassius Longinus.[2]

He constantly reiterated his demand that Carthage should be destroyed,[3] for the reason that he saw the rapid progress of corruption, and he felt that it was only wise for the Romans to overwhelm with a final and complete destruction their formidable enemy while they yet possessed the strength and resolution to do it. Coming generations, depraved by self-indulgence, would never, he feared, be equal to this task. During his consulate he had obtained the passage of a law, *de provincialibus sumptibus*, to limit the burdensome exactions of the governors. And no doubt he approved, very late in his life, of the efforts of the tribune Calpurnius Piso, the creator of the *quæstiones perpetuæ*.[4] Further reforms of the same nature were the *leges tabellariæ* of the tribunes Gabinius and Cassius, establishing vote by ballot in 139 for the election

[1] (*Rhodienses*) *quorum opibus diripiendis possidendisque non pauci ex summatibus viris intenti infensique erant.* (Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Att.*, VII. iii. 6, the oration of Cato *pro Rhodiensibus.*)

[2] LONGIN. III. V. A senator about to deposit his vote in the basket, with the letter V (*votum*). Silver coin of the Cassian family.

[3] Cato was not the only man to say, *Delenda est Carthago;* this cry was so popular [especially among the mercantile classes] that Plautus repeats it in closing his wishes for the prosperity of Rome in the *Cistellaria* (I. iii. 54): *Ut vobis victi Pœni pœnas sufferant.*

[4] See pp. 318–319.

of magistrates, and in 137 for the judgments pronounced by the popular assembly;[1] and not long after this all voting was in this way, making bribery more difficult. Montesquieu and Cicero are in favour of open voting in order that the lower classes may be enlightened by the higher, and restrained by the gravity of eminent men. But when corruption is general, what can Brutus or Cato do? Moreover, even with the secret ballot, the people are sure to know what these grave personages advise and desire. Cicero's former opinion is, therefore, to be preferred, namely, that the secret ballot is the silent defender of liberty.

Voting Scene.[2]

This vigorous war made by Cato upon the manners of his time, this attitude of perpetual censure, had created for him too many enemies to leave him in the enjoyment of tranquillity.[3] Fifty times he was cited before the magistrates. The last of these occasions was in his eighty-third year. Nevertheless he prepared and delivered his defence himself, in which occur these noble and simple words, "It is indeed difficult, Romans, for a man to answer for his conduct before the men of a new generation." At eighty-five he cited Serv. Galba once more to appear before the people "for," says Livy, "he had a soul and a body of iron which old age had not been able to impair."

But this persevering hatred had at last called out an aristocratic reaction. Not being able to impose silence of this perpetual censor the nobles had rendered his opposition less dangerous by breaking in his hands the weapon he was using against them. In the year 179 they destroyed the democratic organization of the comitia.[4]

[1] Cicero enumerates four of these laws: the *Gabinian* (*de Amic.*, 12); the *Cassian* (*Brutus* 25, 27); the *Papirian*, in the year 131, for the adoption or rejection of proposed laws (*pro Mil.*, 3; *ad Fam.*, ix. 21; *Brut., ibid.*); the *Cælian*, in 107, for voting in cases of sentence upon high treason (*perduellonis*). The tribune Cassius (Longinus Ravilla) was, after Cato, the severest and most upright man of the time. In 113 he condemned several vestals whom the pontifex Maximus had spared: we shall hear again of him.

[2] P. NERVA. One of the *pontes*, or narrow passage-ways, through which the voter passed to deposit his vote, an arrangement designed to shelter him from the final and most dangerous solicitations of the candidate. A person presents a voting document to another citizen, while a third is casting it into the basket; above, an obscure symbol. Reverse of a silver coin of the Silian family.

[3] *Nec quemquam sæpius postulatum et semper absolutum.* (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, vii. 27.) In the time of Cicero no less than fifty of Cato's discourses were in existence. (*Brut.*, 17.)

[4] Livy, xl. 51. See our vol. i. p. 560. The old assembly by tribes still existed, however.

Lepidus and Fulvius, who had succeeded Cato in the censorship, had re-established for the centuriate assembly qualifications of property, that is to say, the system of classes, abolished before the second Punic war. Sempronius Gracchus completed this reorganization of the comitia by withdrawing the freedmen from the rustic tribes, and collecting them in one of the city tribes, the Esquiline.[1] Later the institution of the *quæstiones perpetuæ*, although justified by the public interest, again furnished to the nobles, who alone filled these offices, an occasion of seizing upon the right, until that time belonging to the popular assembly, of judging finally in criminal cases.

In this return towards the past, this reaction so favourable to their privileges, the aristocracy were not negligent in the observances of religion, which all the established powers persisted in considering an important means of government. The more the spirit departed the more resolutely they clung to the letter, and the people were terrified by prodigies upon prodigies, the magistrates recalled by severe measures to respect auspices,[2] the sacredness of holy days religiously maintained (the *Fufian law*), and lastly, even the assembly of the tribes placed by the *Ælian law* (167) in dependence upon the will of the augurs.[3]

Thus there came about by means of laws, religion, and judicial authority, as well as through the concentration of property and the degradation of the people, a complete aristocratic reaction. "Rome," says Sallust, "was divided, the nobles on one side, the people on the other, and in the midst the shattered Republic and dying liberty. The faction of the nobles was victorious; the public treasury, the provinces, offices, triumphs, all the glory and wealth of the world was theirs. Without any bond of common interest, without strength, the people was but a powerless multitude, decimated by wars and by poverty. For whilst the legionaries were fighting abroad, powerful neighbours were evicting the fathers and the children of the absent soldiers. The lust of dominion, and an insatiable cupidity, caused all things to be invaded, to be profaned,

[1] Livy, xlv. 15.

[2] Two consuls were recalled from their provinces and compelled to resign office on account of informalities in their elections. (Cic., *de Div.*, ii. 33.)

[3] Cic., *in Vat.*, vi. 9; *ad Fam.*, vii 30; *Prov. cons.*, 19.

until the day when that very tyranny brought about its own downfall." [1]

This downfall Cato had foreseen, and, to his eternal honour, had made his life one long battle to avert it. During a period of more than sixty years he had striven against the laxity of discipline in the army, against the venality of the people, the extravagance of the women, the new tone in manners and morals. But finally, conquered himself, he gave way before the torrent. His ostentatious simplicity and frugality was lost in the scandal of his later years. Cato also lived a day too long.

"He had many slaves whom he purchased among the captives taken in war, always choosing the youngest and such as were most capable of instruction, like whelps or colts, that may be trained at pleasure. . . . When he was a young soldier, and as yet in low circumstances, he never found fault with anything that was served up at his table, but thought it a shame to quarrel with a servant on account of his palate. Yet afterwards, when he was possessed of an easy fortune, and made entertainments for his friends and the principal officers, as soon as dinner was over he never failed to correct with the whip such of his slaves as had not made good attendance or had suffered anything to be spoiled. He contrived to raise quarrels among his servants and to keep them at variance, ever suspecting and fearing some bad consequence from their unanimity; and when any of them were guilty of a capital crime he gave them a formal trial and put them to death in the presence of their fellow servants.

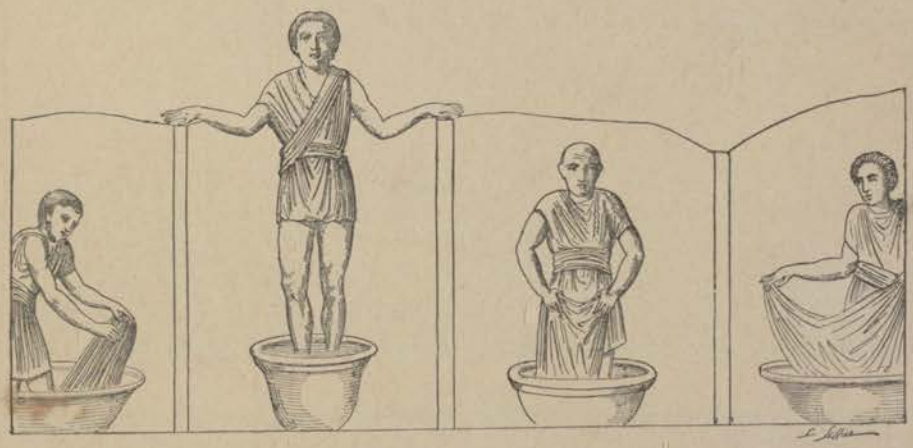
"As his thirst after wealth increased, and he found that agriculture was rather amusing than profitable, he turned his thoughts to surer investments, and employed his money in purchasing ponds, hot-baths, fullers' fields, and estates in good condition, having pasture ground and woodlands. From these he had a great revenue, such a one, he used to say, as Jupiter himself could not deprive him of. He practised usury upon ships, which was considered disreputable. His method

Merchant Vessel.

[1] *Jugurtha*, 41, and *ad Cæsar*, 4. Lucan sums up (i. 167) the causes of the Republic's fall, but with less energy than does Sallust.

was to insist that those whom he furnished with money should form a company. When there were fifty partners and as many ships, he demanded a share for himself, which he managed by one of his freedmen, who sailed and trafficked with them. Thus, though his gain was great, he did not risk his capital, but only a small part of it.

"He also lent money to such of his slaves as wished it, which they employed in purchasing boys, who were afterwards trained and sold to Cato. To incline his son to the same economy, he told him that to diminish his substance was not the part of a man,



Workshop of Fullers.[1]

but of a widow woman. Yet he carried the thing to extravagance when he hazarded this assertion, that the man truly wonderful and God-like and fit to be registered in the lists of glory was he whose accounts showed that he had increased what he had received from his ancestors. At an unseasonable time of life he

[1] Pompeian pictures. (Roux, *op. cit.*, vol. iii. pl. 127.) The Fuller's workshops were important and extensive establishments, for the reason that all Italy clothes itself in wool. One existed in Pompeii between the street of Mercury and that of the triumphal arch; the two frescoes of pages 372 and 373, decorated its peristyle. In the first of these, workmen placed in something like niches, and standing up to their knees in vats of water, trod the fabrics with their feet. In the second, a slave is carding a white fabric bordered with red, no doubt a senatorial toga. Another, crowned with olive-leaves, is bringing the wicker cage, over which the materials are stretched to expose them to the vapour of sulphur. This object is surmounted by the bird of Minerva, tutelary divinity of manufacturers of stuffs. A woman wearing a collar, a gold net, and emerald bracelets, receives the completed work, and appears to be the mistress, or at least the directress, of the manufactory.

married a young girl, the daughter of his secretary, a union unworthy of him, and at his age even to be called disgraceful." [1]

Cato conquered, Cato the object of scandal, and saying publicly that he could not understand how it was possible for two augurs to look at each other without laughing! Who was

Workshop of Fullers.

left to withstand the torrent? Before abandoning himself to it, the austere censor had seen the flood coming in on all sides. He had caused the Greek philosophers to be driven out; he had sought to close Rome and Italy against them; but against ideas, no laws are strong enough, no walls high enough.[2] The senators

[1] Plut., *Cat.*, 24.

[2] Nevertheless, in his old age, Cato read the Greek authors much, especially Thucydides, and Demosthenes, and his own writings were enriched with maxims and incidents of history

Julius, Aufidius, Albinus, Cassius Hemina, Fabius Pictor, and others left Cato to write his *Origines* in Latin, themselves composing their histories in the more learned language, and this taste for Greek letters, passing through Italy, penetrated to the foot of Mount Atlas, where a son of Masinissa, Manastabal by name, extolled the muses of Mount Pindus.[1] It had been the aim of Cato to bring back frugality, labour, the dignity of the poor man; but daily the fields were more and more deserted, luxury became more ruinous, and the servility of the people greater; the elections were a market, and the tariff of votes was a public thing. He had given, in command of provinces, the example of a wise and unselfish administration, but never were exactions so numerous and so cruel. He had combated the disorder in the army, and Scipio Æmilianus found the soldiers in Spain in the most frightful state of insubordination. He had sought to bring back the nobles to a recognition of equality, to a respect for the laws, and he had beheld the formation of an aristocracy which dominated the very Senate itself. The space between the nobles and the people had widened, an abyss yawned deeper and more fatal than ever. At the close of his life, Cato, if he had remained himself, would have been a stranger in Rome.

IV.—Scipio Æmilianus.

Roman society, therefore, was hurrying towards revolution. And the movement was legitimate, for it must needs have been that this city in becoming an empire should be itself transformed; that this Italian town, before it could enclose the world within its limits, should renounce its narrow spirit, its local religion, its laws hostile to the stranger; that it should open itself to all ideas and all forms of worship, that it might finally be opened to all peoples of the world. By dint of multiplying gods, they drew near to that idea of divine unity, soon after proclaimed

drawn from Greek authors. Many of his sayings are translated word for word from the Greek. (Plut., *Cat., in fine;* Cic., *de Senec.*, 1.)

[1] Livy, *Epit.*, xlix. Masinissa had Greek musicians at his table, Athenæus tells us, and Micipsa established at Cirta a colony of Greeks. (Strabo. xvii. p. 831.)

by Cicero; by destroying municipal patriotism they were to rise to that conception of the universal city, whose laws Marcus Aurelius was to write. And we, are we justified in complaining of the transformation, without which we should have been but disinherited children of the ancient world? If the Romans had conceived for Greek literature that contempt which Alexander's soldiers had for the civilization of Africa, Phœnicia, and Central Asia, the long labour of a race endowed with all intellectual gifts would have been lost for us, as was lost the wisdom of the priests of Egypt and Chaldæa. To-day we strive with difficulty to awaken a few of those sacred echoes on the shores of the Nile, the Euphrates, and the Ganges, as we penetrate the ruins of Palenque, or explore the banks of the Ohio, asking from the New World the secrets of its mysterious past. It is fitting, therefore, that we own our obligation to the Romans, in that they showed neither the haughty contempt of the Greeks, nor the savage indifference of the Spaniards for the civilizations they destroyed, but the honest admiration which made of them docile scholars of their captives, and preserved for us so many great works.

Further, we must not regard Rome as falling suddenly and completely into vice and effeminacy. In becoming rich and powerful, she had assumed the modes of living which belong to wealth and fame, as, at an early day, she has been fashioned by poverty and weakness. Many of her citizens abused their opportunities; many, however, were capable of uniting the elegancies of the new life with the virtues of the earlier time, and the necessary evolution which was going on would have had only fortunate results if the movement could have been retained within the limits which certain of the nobler spirits sought to maintain. The severe genius of Latium, slowly fertilized and polished by Greek science and refinement would doubtless have given us the most glorious products, and this it was which the greatest Romans hoped for: Paulus Æmilius, whose life was consecrated by turns to public affairs, his children's education, and the pursuits of literature, who brought home from Macedon, as his sole booty, the library of Perseus;[1]

[1] Plut., *Paul. Æmil.*, 43, and Polybius, xxxiii. 8. There was not means to pay to his wife the dowry she had brought him, and it became necessary to sell land for the purpose. A son of Paulus Æmilius, Fabius, wrote Roman annals.

Scipio Nasica, declared by the senate to be the most upright man in the State, and his son Corculum, so modest that he refused the title of *imperator* with the triumph, and so influential that he was able thrice to postpone that destruction of Carthage upon which Cato was determined:[1] Calpurnius Piso, the austere, surnamed *Frugi*, a skilful orator, a valiant leader, a profound lawyer and writer;[2] the Scævolas, eminent at the Forum and the bar;[3] the two Lælii, renowned for their constancy in friendship, especially the second, surnamed "the Wise," who was the friend of Pacuvius and Terence, perhaps also their guide and counsellor; Sempronius, the father of the Gracchi, and the pacificator of Spain; Fabius Servilianus and Manlius, who both punished with death the disorders and extortions of their sons;[5] lastly, the Tuberos, of the Ælian family, who held four consulships during this period. They were so poor notwithstanding their alliance with the Æmilian and Cornelian families, that

Reader.[4]

[1] In 159, the censors built a theatre with comfortable seats; Nasica represented it was dangerous to public manners to encourage scenic plays too much, and the construction of the theatre was delayed for a time.

[2] He composed Memoirs or annals of his time.

[3] Of this family the most eminent were Publius, the consul during the tribuneship of Tiberius Gracchus; Quintus, the guide of Cicero, a man who dared, in the open senate, to resist the all powerful Sylla; another Quintus, son of Publius, whom Cicero calls the greatest orator among lawyers, the greatest lawyer among orators: Cicero relates of the first Quintus, that buying an estate one day, he paid 100,000 sesterces more than was asked, because he considered the price insufficient. (*de Off.*, iii. 15.)

[4] From a bas-relief in marble; a man reading, a *libellus*, a volume formed of pages of parchment bound as our books are. (Rich, *Greek and Roman Antiquities*, under the word *Libellus*.)

[5] The province of Macedon accused Silanus of extortion. Manlius, his father, judged in the case, banished the son from his presence, and when the latter, in his grief and despair, hanged himself, the father refused to be present at his funeral. (Livy, *Ep.*, liv.; Val. Max., V. viii. 3; Cic., *de Fin. bon.*, i. 7.)

sixteen of them held jointly only one small house and farm in the Veian country. Quintus Tubero, the son-in-law of Paulus Æmilius, never possessed any other than earthenware vessels, with the exception of a little silver cup given him by the conqueror of Macedon.[1]

Book (*volumen*).[2]

But the grandest figure of all among these illustrious personages is Scipio Æmilianus, and the grandson, by adoption, of Africanus. His friendship for Polybius is celebrated in antiquity. "Our intimacy," says Polybius, "began by the conversations that we had together in respect to the books which he lent me. When the Achæans who were summoned to Rome were dispersed through different cities of Italy, Scipio and his brother Fabius urgently desired of the prætor that I should be allowed to remain with them. . . . One day, while Fabius was absent at the Forum, I found myself alone with Æmilianus, who said to me with gentleness, and blushing as he spoke: 'Why is it, Polybius, when you share the same table with my brother and myself, you always address your conversation by preference to him? Apparently you think me, as do my fellow-citizens, indolent and idle, because I am not devoted to legal studies and practice. Why should I be, indeed, when all men say that

Silver Cup.[3]

[1] Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xxxiii. 50. Paulus Æmilius gave to him as his share of the booty five pounds of silver. In respect to all these eminent men, who sought to blend the virtues of Rome with Greek refinement and elegance, see M. Hinstin's interesting study, *Les Romains à Athènes.*

[2] From a Pompeian painting. A manuscript on papyrus, formed by pasting together pieces so as to form a long roll (*volumen*), which the reader opened as he read.

[3] Guhl and Koner, *Das Leben der Griechen und Römer*, p. 569, fig. 452.

it is not an orator, but a general whom the Scipios should furnish to Rome.' In the name of all the gods, I replied, do not believe that if I do as you say it is for lack of esteem towards you, but only because Fabius is the elder; moreover I greatly admire your sentiments and your enthusiasm, and if my counsels can in any way aid you worthily to sustain the name you bear, I beg that you will command my services. Then Scipio taking me by the hands exclaimed: 'Oh when shall I see that happy day in which, free from all engagements, and living in my house, you will give me all your thoughts! I shall then feel myself worthy of my ancestors.'"[1]

Scipio disposed his affections nobly; another of his friends was Panætius, "the Rhodian Master," whose philosophy, softened by Platonic influence, humanized the severities of the Porch. In his judgment virtue was the greatest good, but he admitted that other forms of good might find their place at the side of virtue, and he taught his illustrious pupil the true foundation of social order: "There is nothing virtuous which is not useful, and all which is really useful is virtuous."[2]

The first effect of this noble intercourse with great minds was to inspire Scipio with a love for serious studies, and an aversion for the licentious manners of the Roman youth. Thus, while Greece and Asia were infecting Rome with their vices, the friendship of Polybius increased in Scipio the old virtues of the Republic, giving them a more elevated tone; and while the spirit of rapine was invading Rome, Scipio astonished his fellow citizens by his indifference towards money, the great problems of the city's welfare and of the life of man filling that noble mind.

These virtues of Æmilianus even won the esteem of Cato, who, hoping to find in him the destroyer of Carthage, was willing for the moment to lay aside his hatred of the Scipios. "That man alone," he said of Æmilianus, applying to him a verse of Homer[3]— "that man alone has sense; others flit like shadows." We have elsewhere spoken of his military services, his efforts to restore discipline, and his integrity in the midst of the spoils of Carthage.

[1] Polybius, xxxii. 9.

[2] Cic., *de Off.*, iii. 6.

[3] [*οἷος πέπνυται, τοὶ δὲ σκιαὶ ἀτσσουσι.*]

A few years later, when sent into the East to regulate the affairs of nations and dispose of crowns at his will,[1] he exhibited at those voluptuous courts a proud simplicity of life. He had with him Panætius the philosopher; perhaps Polybius, and five slaves only; but at his approach, kings descended from their chariots; and Ptolemy Physcon forgot his effeminacy and his claims to divine honours. "The Alexandrians," said Scipio to Panætius, "owe us at least this, that they have once seen their king walking."

Mars.[3]

On his return he was elected censor by the people, who refused for his sake the haughty Claudius. Into this office Scipio desired to bring a salutary severity. But he was defeated in all his efforts by the weakness of Mummius, his colleague, and in allusion to this, he said to the people that he would have justified their confidence if he had had, or if he had not had, a colleague. To preserve the early Roman virtues, simplicity, discipline, and at the same time to honour the new Muses, even so far as perhaps to have aided the poet Terence, were the aims of Scipio Æmilianus. Around him were gathered a group of friends who shared in his pursuits,—the Fannii, of whom one gave his name to the first sumptuary law, and the other was an eloquent adversary of the Gracchi;[2] Sempronius Asellio, author of a history of the war against Numantia,

[1] Ἐπὶ τὸ καταστήσασθαι τὰς κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην βασιλείας, ἵνα τοῖς προσήκουσιν ἐγχειρισθῶσιν. (Polyb., *Fr. hist.*, 77.)

[2] Vell. Paterc., ii. 9. A third C. Fannius Strabo, son-in-law of Lælius, wrote annals which M. Brutus abridged. (Appianus. *Iberica*, 67; Cic., *de Rep.*, i. 12; *de Amic.*, 1.)

[3] Roux, *Herculanum et Pompéi*, vol. iv. pl. 63. From a Pompeian painting, in which the

where he had served as legionary tribune; the high-minded Rutilius Rufus, who wrote a history of Rome and his own memoirs, the former in Greek, the latter in Latin; the historian Cælius Antipater,[1] Tubero his nephew, and his friend the wise Lælius to whom Cicero attributes such noble words in his treatise *de Amicitia*.[2]

But that which distinguishes Æmilianus from all the Romans of his time, is an elevation of mind till then unknown to the rapacious and rude inhabitants of the city of Mars. He who had wept over Carthage was struck with the fatal revolutions of empires, and was anxious about the future of Rome. When at the close of the lustrum, the herald, according to custom, prayed the gods to make the fortunes of Rome more prosperous and greater: "Rome is fortunate enough and great enough," he cried, "let us ask the gods no more than to preserve her where she now is!" He well measured the dangers which surrounded the Republic, surveying with an anxious eye the slow decomposition going on in morals, institutions, and even in the people itself. Perhaps he might have been able to arrest it. Cicero believed so, and the title that Æmilianus later accepted, of Patron of the Italians,[3] the attempt made by his friend Lælius during the former's consulship to call for a partition of the public lands,[4] show that he would have attacked abuses with no timid hand.

Tiberius, says Plutarch, did no more than take up the projects which Scipio had commenced. What then were these designs? Cicero, always so faithful in his *Dialogues* to the character of his speakers,[5] puts into the mouth of Scipio the eulogium of a balanced monarchy, a mixed government where king, nobles, and people harmoniously work together.[6] Elsewhere he mentions that "the favourite book of Æmilianus was the

formidable divinity of the Romans is represented with an air of graceful delicacy. See in vol. i. p. 77, upon a coin, a head of Mars Ultor, of a very different aspect.

[1] This author was a friend of Lælius, to whom he dedicated his *History of the Punic War*. (Cic., *Orat.*, 69.)

[2] C. Lælius Sapiens was the son of C. Lælius, the friend and brother-in-arms of Africanus.

[3] App., *Bell. civ.*, i. 19.

[4] Plut., *Tib. Gr.*, 8. "Tiberius would have succeeded," he said, "if Scipio had chanced to be in Rome at the time when he proposed his first law."

[5] He himself speaks of the care he takes to draw faithful portraits. Cf. his letter to Atticus on Varro and Scævola.

[6] *De Rep.*, i. 30; *Ep. ad Quint.*, i. 1.

Cyropædia [of Xenophon], a work in which are omitted none of the duties of an active and moderate government;" but this book is the ideal picture of a royalty absolute though benevolent.[1] Did Scipio then think, a hundred years before the establishment of the empire, that Rome could save herself only by abandoning her liberty? Again we find the confused notion of some great change necessary to save the State, in that passage in the *Dream of Scipio*, where Africanus says to his grandson: "The entire State will turn towards thee; the senate, all good men, the allies, the Latins will place on thee only their last hope, and, as dictator, thou wilt regenerate the Republic if thou canst escape the impious hands of thy kindred." Then he shows to him beyond all worlds, in the midst of the divine harmony of the celestial spheres, a place brilliant with stars and glowing with light, where under the eye of God, they who have saved or exalted their country enjoy immortal felicity. "It is from heaven that come," he says, "it is to heaven that return, devoted leaders and saviours of nations. *There* is the true life. Thy life is only death; train thy immortal soul by the most serious labours; above all, keep watch over thy country's safety.

Unhappily Scipio could not always be at the helm to guide his country. He was far away at the gates of Numantia when the revolution burst forth; upon his return Rome had already entered upon those paths of blood and violence whence there was no return, and where he himself found his death. It was because all men, himself perhaps excepted, closed their eyes to the gravity of the situation, and none thought of seeking means to amend it.[2] Like those old senators who in their curule chairs awaited, motionless and dignified, the entrance of the Gauls, so the Scævolas, the Calpurnii, and the Tuberos, believed they were doing enough for their country in giving her the example of a spotless life, and ready to die, but incapable of fighting, virtue suffered the evil days to draw near without action. For the most part Stoics, they were better able to suffer than to act; as jurisconsults they remained attached to the old system, and did not see

[1] For Cicero the consular office represented royalty. We shall see him seek to establish that equilibrium between classes in the Roman State.

[2] In Cicero's *de Republica*, Lælius also is indignant against Tubero and Scævola, because they are more occupied with the apparition of two suns in the sky than with the dangerous condition of the Republic.

that the State had need of violent remedies which only new legislation could afford.

We will not apologize for this long examination of the morbid phenomena and the recuperative forces which the Roman republic exhibits after the great wars were over. The moral revolution we have been considering is more important than details of battles, for it explains in advance the political revolution whose sanguinary phases for a hundred years we are now to follow. These changes going on silently in nations are like those which occur beneath the waters of the ocean. Here reefs are slowly rising out of the depths and coming near the surface, and mighty ships shall presently strike where once there was deep water; there, beneath the moving current of human affairs are born and developed new needs—reefs upon which old institutions shall be shipwrecked when the pilots are not experienced enough to see the danger and avoid it.

[1] Colossal bust in the Louvre, bearing on the two sides of the helmet the she-wolf suckling the founders of Rome. (No. 166 of the Clarac catalogue.)

Rome Deified.[1]

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

THE GRACCHI.

I.—First Revolt of Slaves.

THE last century of the Roman republic witnessed but three great wars; those against the Cimbri, Mithridates, and the Gauls. At the same time, no period in her history was more sanguinary, for during that entire century the Romans ceased scarcely for a day to turn their arms one against another. The conquerors of the world now cut each others throats to determine who should enjoy the spoils.

These civil wars were complicated still further by unlooked for incidents: the subjects joined in their masters' quarrels. Each oppressed class, even the slave, had its day of liberty and vengeance—strange and savage saturnalia which ended by effacing privileges, levelling conditions, confusing ideas, until a new spirit, a new world, emerged from the chaos of old ideas and old institutions.

To the heroism of youth had succeeded the ambition of mature years. Instead of great parties, there were only great men who unconsciously and often, in spite of their crimes, served the cause of humanity. More and more, Rome's spirit and her people were to disappear, and this tide constantly bringing to her Forum and her senate-house new men and new ideas, in its reflux will presently bear far away, even to the Plains of Thessaly, Macedon, and Africa, those of her chiefs who had ceased to be ashamed to appeal to arms. The Gracchi, pacific though revolutionary, will fight and die, as did the tribunes of an earlier day, upon the Capitol and the Aventine. But for their battlefield Marius and Sylla will take Italy; Cæsar and Pompeius, the whole Roman world.

Three great names, the Gracchi, Marius, and Cæsar, mark three great divisions in the history of the last century of the Republic. All three are vanquished; Marius by his vacillation, the Gracchi and Cæsar by assassination, and the nobles triumph. But for every adversary who falls they see more enemies arise, and the debate become hotter. In the early struggle, they had for opponents only the plebeians, now there is the great crowd of the oppressed, the poor of Rome, the Italians, slaves, provincials. At every thirty years interval, they rise in insurrection, Saturninus and Cinna respond to the Gracchi; to the insurrection at Fregellæ, the Social war; to Eunus, Athenion, and the complaints of the provinces, the revolt of the East under Mithridates, and of the West under Sertorius. All of these, it is true, were crushed by Sylla and his lieutenants; but, if they did not each gain his cause, still they were fighting to gain a single master, and the revolution, replacing by a monarchy the dominion of the nobles, was in part their work.

The time following the second Punic war had prepared the destruction of republican liberty; the century which preceded the battle of Actium completed its ruin, and brought forth, amid unutterable pangs, royalty, and with it public peace, which was, for two centuries and a half, the empire's ransom.

Of the oppressed, those who took arms first were those who were suffering most; the revolt of the Sicilian slaves opened this era of blood.

The ancient world despised industry. At the present day, the struggle with nature has assumed such proportions that it demands the noblest efforts of the mind, and industry is, so to speak, spiritualized, while, in having for its aim, not the greater luxury and license of the few, but the comfort of all, it has justified its power, and successfully ennobled labour. The ancients knew no other arts than eloquence and war; in a word to act upon man by speech or by force of arms, but never upon the external world, which their frugality disdained or from which they required only the coarser pleasures.[1] The two oracles of the

[1] Thus they trained lions, tigers, stags, and ostriches to draw chariots in the arena (Montaigne, *Chapter upon Coaches*); they exhibited elephants dancing on the tight rope

wisdom of antiquity, Cicero[1] and Aristotle said: "To slaves belong all those occupations which require the exercise of physical strength; to citizens, those which demand the employment of the mental powers, excepting only war, to defend the city, and agriculture to give it food."[2] There is something grand in this theory, but unfortunately it degrades [mechanical] labour by separating it from intellect and from liberty; it throws into idleness and sedition the man of free condition who is poor, and making the slave only a machine[3] with a human frame, it creates all the dangers of slavery.

The contempt of the citizen for the slave in every city, appeared on a larger scale in the scorn with which the warrior nations regarded the working nations, and the old world without a law of nations, or any general policy, was but a bloody arena where the industrious were always the conquered. Athens fell under the blows of Sparta. Miletus and Phocæa perished by the hand of the Persians; Tyre was destroyed by Alexander; Tarentum, Syracuse, and grandest of all, Carthage, by the Romans. The reason is apparent; these cities having converted their citizens into rich voluptuaries or timid artisans, were obliged to entrust their defence to mercenary soldiers, who could not stand against the national troops of the warrior nations. When the latter saw industry everywhere the companion of weakness, they held in supreme disdain the practice of the useful arts, and the poorest amongst

(Cuvier, *Hist., des. sc. nat.*, i. 234); they fattened for the table the peacock, the crane, the dormouse, even snails; they practised pisciculture and the artificial fecundation of fish; but if there was in all this much for their pleasures, there was nothing for their common utility (Isid., Geoffrey Saint Hilaire.)

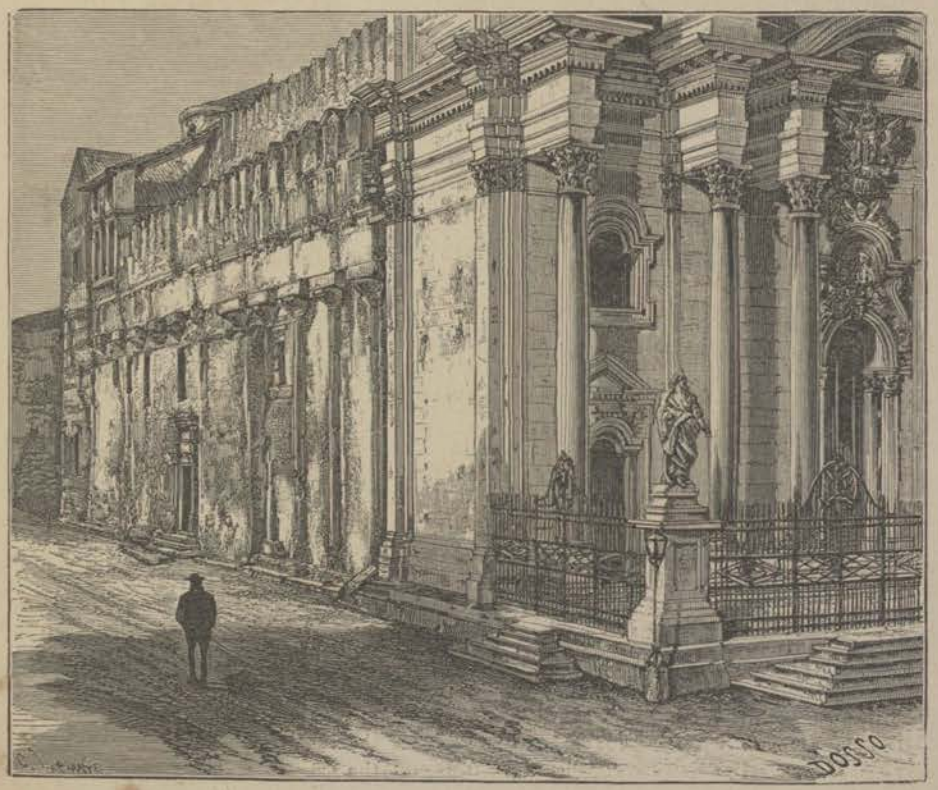
[1] Even in the mind of Cicero, the slave represented evil, and he thus defines the master's authority: *Domini servos ita fatigant, ut optima pars animi, id est sapientia, [fatigat] ejusdem animi vitiosas imbecillasque partes, ut libidines, ut iracundias, ut perturbationes cæteras* (S. August., *Contra Julianum Pelagianum*, iv. 12, 61.)

[2] Aristotle writes: "It is manifest that some are naturally free, and others naturally slaves, and that, for the latter, slavery is as useful as it is just." (*Polit.*, I. i. 4.) Plato accepts slavery as an existing condition, but he does not justify it. [So does the New Testament.] In his ideal *Republic*, there are no slaves, but in his *Laws* he is pitiless towards them. Upon the question of slaves, see Wallon's *Histoire de l'esclavage dans l'antiquité*. This work is the best authority upon the subject.

[3] The Aquilian law made no distinction between the slave and cattle: he who killed a labouring ox, or a slave, paid to the owner a sum equal to the highest price at which the beast or the man had that year been sold. (Gaius, iii. § 210.) *Servile caput nullum jus habet.* (*Dig.*, iv. 5, 3, § 1.)

them could hardly resign himself to seek in industry a resource against want, and only the slaves and the freedmen had the pains, as well as the profits, of labour.

In the time of simple and frugal manners, Rome had few slaves; as wants increased with luxury more hands were needed, and war abundantly supplied the market, the captive being by right a slave, *ex jure gentium*.[1] We have seen what number of



Syracuse. Temple of Minerva transformed into a Church (p. 385).[2]

slaves Paulus Æmilius, Sempronius Gracchus and Æmilianus sold. Later, Marius sent to the public market 140,000 Cimbri and Ambrones. In a single city [3] Cicero derived in five days from the sale of prisoners, a sum equal to about £100,000. Pompey and Cæsar boasted of having sold or slain 2,000,000 men.[4] In time of

[1] *Dig.*, i. 5, 5, § 1. In the camps of Lucullus, slaves were sold for four drachmæ. (Plut., *Luc.*, 14.)

[2] Saverio Cavallari, *Monum. della Sicilia, tav.* xi.

[3] *Ad Att.* v. 20.

[4] Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, vii. 27; Plut., *Cæs.*, 19. Frequently a war between two rival cities

peace, a slave-trade was carried on, not only by the pirates who covered the seas, but by the legions and consuls. Popilius Lænas carried off at one time 10,000 Statielli, and Cassius, thousands of mountaineers. In modern times, thanks at least to the aristocracy of colour, the negro alone has occasion to fear being enslaved. Formerly, possession was title; violence secured right. Women, children, men, were kidnapped in the cities and on the highways;[1] for the human being was then the principal commodity in the market. How many eminent men in those days fell into slavery, to speak only of Plato, Diogenes, and Terence![2] The city's law no longer recognized the citizen whom force had deprived of his liberty; he remained in the eye of that law, marked, even after his enfranchisement, with an indelible stain, and if he sought to recover his rights, he must return into the city secretly, so that the law might accept his excuse of absence,[4] and if his wife had re-married, the second union remained valid.

A Negro.[3]

In default of war and piracy, regular commerce supplied the

would end by the sale *en masse* of the population of the vanquished. Thus Sicyon sold all the inhabitants of Pallene; Thebes, those of Platæa; Alexander, those of Thebes; Demetrius, those of Mantinea; Rome, lastly, those of Capua, Numantia, Corinth, Carthage. (De Saint-Paul, *Disc. sur l'esclav.*, p. 71.)

[1] Cic., *pro Cluent.*, 7. This was so common that many old comedies are founded upon it.

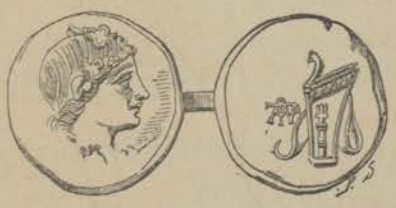
[2] We may add Phædo, the friend of Socrates and the founder of the school of Elea, Æsop, Phædrus, Andronicus, Griphon, the teacher of Cicero; C. Melissus, the creator of the Octavian library; and most of the eminent grammarians quoted by Suetonius.

[3] Museum of the Louvre, No. 554 of the Clarac catalogue. This negro, dressed in striped material, is a very valuable specimen of polychromatic sculpture.

[4] This was the right of "secret return." (*Dig.*, xlix. 15; Fest., s. v. *Postliminium*; Plut., *Quæst. Rom.*, 5.)

market with slaves. Surrounded by a belt of barbarous nations, the Roman world found, like the slave-traders upon the African coast, a host of petty chiefs ready to sell their prisoners, or in case of need, their subjects. From the remote parts of Gaul, Germany, and the lands of the Scythians, came down incessantly to the shores of the Mediterranean long files of chained barbarians, brought by the merchants of Marseilles, of Panticapæum, Phanagoria and Dioscurias. There came even Britons.[1] A proof of the extent and activity of this traffic is that the Germans, whose frontier the legions had not yet touched, were so numerous in the army of the gladiators that they formed a division apart. A little money, stuffs, weapons, or the article most needed—in Thrace and Africa, salt; in Gaul, wine—were the objects of exchange. Among the Gauls, says Diodorus, for the cup, you get the cup-bearer.[3] Utica and Egypt furnished negroes; Alexandria, grammarians; the marts of Sidon and Cyprus, those intelligent, docile, corrupt Asiatics, prized as house-servants; Greece, her handsome boys and girls; Epirus and Illyria, good shepherds; Germany, Gaul and Thrace, gladiators; Cappadocia, vigorous but stupid labourers. The Spaniards had a bad name; they were said to be inclined to murder and suicide. All the barbaric world, all the conquered nations were thus represented in the *ergastula* of Italy; and Spartacus was able to divide his companies into the Gallic, Thracian, Germanic, etc. In Sicily, the Asiatics and Syrians were in the majority. The latter especially were the insolvent debtors, ruined men, or those sold by their fathers or their princes to pay the tax, often men who had given themselves up to save their families.[5] If we remember that in the provinces the rate of interest

Gold coin of Panticapæum.[2]



Coin of Phanagoria.[4]

[1] Strabo, *passim*.

[2] Head of Pan; reverse, ΠΑΝ, a griffin holding a spear-head.

[3] V. xvii. 25.

[4] Head of Bacchus; reverse, a quiver and the city's monogram. Bronze coin of Phanagoria.

[5] Children exposed by their parents belonged to those who took them in. There were slave-growers; Cato and Crassus did not disdain this means of gain (Plut., *Cat. maj.*, 32; *Crass.*, 2.)

was as high as 48 per cent., that the publicans intrusted with the collection of taxes committed frightful exactions, we shall understand how entire populations might be sold to liberate cities, provinces, or kings. When Marius sought aid from the king of Bithynia, Nicomedes replied: "Your publicans have left me nothing but old men and children." [1]

Thus were gathered in city and country houses an incredible number of slaves: Cato of Utica, eminent for his simplicity, had not less than fifteen to attend him in the country; Damophilus, an obscure landowner in Sicily, had 400; and the Roman merchant established at Utica,[2] Demetrius, a freedman of Pompey, had enough to compose armies.[3] Pompey raised 300 horsemen from his shepherds, and Cæsar's *familia* was so numerous that more than once it made the senate tremble. Claudius Isidorus complained that the civil wars had left him but 4,116. Scaurus, who erected a theatre supported by 360 columns, and adorned with 3,000 statues, and large enough to accommodate 80,000 spectators, had it is said 8,000;[4] and Athenæus represents certain private individuals as possessing 20,000.[6]

Thracian Gladiator.[5]

An unnatural condition can be maintained only by unnatural laws. To crush down into servitude,

[1] Diod., fragm. of book xxxvi. 3.

[2] Plut., in *Cat.* Diod., V. xvii. 25. Plut., *Cat.*, 68.

[3] This Demetrius left his patron 4000 talents, or £800,000. (Plut., *Pomp.*, 2.)

[4] This M. Æmilius Scaurus was son-in-law to Sylla.

[5] From a terra-cotta lamp. (Rich, *Greek and Roman Antiquities*, at the word *Thrax.*)

[6] Cf. Plut., in *Crass.*; Suet., *Jul.*; Sen., *de Tranq.*, 8; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xxxiii. 47. Orgetorix, a Helvetian chief, had 10,000 slaves. (Cæs., *Bell. Gall.*, i. 4.) In the question of the number of slaves, M. Dureau de la Malle takes part with M. Letronne, against the school of Vossius, and of Saint-Paul. That Athenæus may have given an exaggerated estimate, especially for Ægina, that the μυριάδας of Strabo (book xiv. p. 666), for Delos must not be taken literally, I am willing to admit, and the more since Strabo says simply: "What encouraged the pirates to capture free people was the fact that they found at Delos, a rich commercial place, a market capable of receiving and despatching in one day many thousands of slaves." He does not say that this was done every day. But passages in Seneca (*de Clementia*, i. 25), in Pliny (*Hist. Nat.* xxxiii. 6), in Plutarch, and elsewhere, do not appear to me so easy to explain

into misery, and often into infamy, the man once free, a warrior, a chief even, whom war had enchained, needed a pressure which must be made stronger, the more energetic was the moral resistance. Hence that severity towards the slave, and those laws of blood, "the black code" of antiquity:[1] "No leisure for the slave," said Aristotle;[2] "Let him sleep or work," added Cato. It would not do to give him time to think. Others, to restrain them through hunger, fed them insufficiently. "Do not take," was the prudent advice of the day, "slaves from a free

Tomb of a Freedman of Pompius (p. 389).[3]

away. Moreover the fact itself of the concentration of property in a few hands brings with it necessarily the concentration also of the instruments of cultivation. On the other hand, the rich being few in number, and the middle class being destroyed, we cannot reckon from the number of slaves held by an Ovidius or a Crassus how large was the actual number in the Roman world. It is an insoluble problem.

[1] In Plautus (*Mil. glorios.*, ii. iv. 19. 20), a slave says: *Scio crucem futuram mihi sepulcrum; ibi mei sunt majores siti, pater, avos, proavos, abavos.*

[2] Οὐ σχολὴ δούλοις (Arist., *Pol.*, vii. 8). In Italy there were only ten holidays, that is to say days of rest, in the whole year. It is quite enough, says Dionysius of Halicarnassus, in order that such marks of humanity may render the slaves docile. Later, Collumella, (ii. 12, 9) counted forty-five days of festivals, or of rain, and therefore of enforced rest; but we have seen that Cato and others knew how to utilise even the holidays, and the rainy days as well. At the beginning of the third century of the Christian era, Tertullian (*de Idolis*, 14) remarks that the pagans had not the fifty days of joy (Sundays) of the Christians.

[3] Canina, *la Prima parte della via Appia*, t. ii. pl. xx. This tomb, situated upon the Appian Way, between the fourth and fifth mile-stone, is not that of Demetrius, the rich freedman of Pompey, but was that of a member of his family not however to be determined, even by Borghese, owing to the mutilation of the inscription. We give, from Canina, the restored tomb, in order to show how closely our funeral monuments imitate those of the ancients.

nation; they are too dangerous; have but a few from any one nation that they may not conspire together, for as many slaves as a man has, so many enemies has he; speak to them in monosyllables, to keep them at a distance; treat them as if they were wild beasts; and render them twenty times more servile by frequent lashes."[1] They were spoken of as "the chained people," *ferratile genus*.[2]

The master had the right of life and death over him, *vitæ necisque potestatem*.[3] For a slight offence, for a caprice of the master, the slave died under the rod, upon a cross, crushed between two mill-stones, or abandoned upon the bare ground, with feet and hands, and nose and lips cut off; or hung in the air upon four iron hooks to be devoured by birds of prey. If, to avenge his long-sufferings a slave killed his master, upon his confession all his companions also perished by tortures.[4] If they were not in fact his accomplices, they were so in intention, and in any case, they were guilty in that they had not protected their master. Pollio, the favourite of Augustus, caused slaves to be thrown living to the eels.[5] Augustus himself crucified one who had killed and eaten a fighting quail.[6]

If to escape these tortures and subterranean prisons,[7] and the ever-ready whip of the executioner (*lorarius*) the slave became a fugitive and fled to the mountains, he was hunted as a wild beast, and easily recognized by his shaven head, his scarred back, his ankles lacerated by the fetters, and by the words branded on his forehead, perhaps the name of his owner, perhaps, "I am a fugitive, a thief," or possibly some favourite sentence of his master.[8] On being

The Whip of the *lorarius*.[9]

[1] *Totidem hostes esse quot servos.* (Seneca, *Ep.*, 47.) *Omnis herus servus monosyllabus*, Erasmus, *Adag.*, 2393. Plato and Aristotle insist upon the danger of having slaves *ὁμόφυλοι, ὁμόφωνοι, πατριῶται ἀλλήλων*.

[2] Plaut., *Mostell.*, I. i. 18.

[3] Gaius., i. § 52.

[4] The Silanian senatus-consultum merely gave legal sanction to the ancient customs.

[5] Sen., *de Irâ*, iii. 40.

[6] Plutarch, *Apophth. Rom.*, 20.

[7] *Ergastula.* (Colum., i. 6.)

[8] Suidas, s. v. Ἀτταγᾶς; in Pliny, *Hist., Nat.*, xviii. 3, *inscriptique vultus* to designate slaves.

[9] From a model discovered at Herculaneum. This whip (*flagrum*) was composed of several chains with metal buttons at their extremities. These small chains attached to a short

re-captured, he perished under the scourge unless perhaps avarice saved him to send him to the mines or to the mill, whence there was no escape. "Then," says Diodorus, "there is neither respite nor compassion; men sick or disabled, women, or old men, all laboured, urged by blows, until they fell exhausted." "Ye gods!" cries Apuleius, on entering a mill, "what a deformed population! what livid skins marked with strokes of the whip! All have been branded on the forehead, a chain on the ankle, the hair shaven on one side, and are without clothes. Nothing can be conceived more hideous than these spectres, whose eyelids are inflamed by the smoke and the strain."[1]

A Slave under the Scourge.[2]

Suicide or flight therefore became so frequent, that at Rome a purchaser might recover his money from the seller, if he had not been warned that the slave had already been a fugitive, or had made an attempt to kill himself.[3]

The slave had nothing, not even a name; whatever he might earn outside of his regular labour, might be taken by the master;[4] he had neither wife nor children, for he formed accidental unions,[5] and his young, as Aristotle called them, belonged to the master.[6] When he became ill, aged, or infirm, he was carried near the temple of Æsculapius, and it was the god's affair whether he lived or died.

handle gave heavy blows rather than lashes. Cf. Rich, *Greek and Roman Antiquities*, at the word *Flagrum*.

[1] Apul., *Metam.*, 9.

[2] From a bronze pot found at Pompeii. Here the *lorarius* is using the *flagellum*, formed of twisted cords, which was said to inflict more painful wounds than the *flagrum*. Rich, *ibid.*, at the word *Flagellum*.

[3] *Dig.*, xxxi. 1.

[4] *Dig.*, xxi. 2, 3, 5. See the monologue of Davus at the beginning of Terence's *Phormio*.

[5] Plautus, in the prologue to *Casina*, says that at Athens, at Carthage, and in Apulia, slaves could marry, but it found it difficult to persuade his audience. The marriage of the slave was called *contubernium*, and produced no legal ties of parentage.

[6] The children belonged to the owner of the mother, by extension of the principles governing property in animals. (Pellat, *Droit privé des Romains*, p. 151.) In law, however, the slave was not a thing, but a person *alieni juris*.

We have here the first act in the sad drama which forms the history of labour. The Middle Ages saw the second, with their serfs of the soil; modern times with its proletariat, sees the third. But, notwithstanding the several enfranchisements, the war between labour and capital is unhappily not ended yet. May the solution be speedily found which shall establish peace in this world of sore trouble!

Like cities built upon a volcano, civilizations which rest upon slavery always feel the ground tremble under them. Six times the senate was obliged to repress partial revolts among the slaves, before having to contend against the formidable insurrection of Eunus.[1] This Syrian, a slave in Sicily, had predicted that he should be king and confirmed his prophecy by a miracle; in speaking he breathed flames from his mouth, a nut filled with sulphur, lighted and held in the mouth, being his method of accomplishing this prodigy. By his impostures he had acquired a great authority over his companions in misfortune, when the cruelty of a master, a very rich man of Enna named Damophilus, brought about an outbreak.[2] His 400 slaves, having burst their fetters escaped into the fields, and soon returning, massacred all the inhabitants. Damophilus himself paid hideous satisfaction to their revenge, no one was spared but his daughter who had showed them some compassion. A similar revolt occurred at Agrigentum and 5,000 men joined the slaves of Enna, who had put at their head the Syrian prophet, under the name of king Antiochus. As soon as there was a camp, a place of refuge, slaves from all parts of the island made their escape thither. In a few months, Eunus had an army of 70,000 men. This was the time of the shameful disasters experienced by the legions before Numantia, and they were repeated in Sicily. Four prætors and a consul were defeated in turn. Masters of Enna, in the centre of the island, 200,000 slaves spread terror from Messina to Lilybæum, and from Tauromenium on the sea-coast, they showed their broken chains to their brothers in Italy. From one end of the empire to the other,

[1] Cf. Livy, books xxii. xxvi. xxvii. xxxii. xxxiii. xxxix., and *Epit.*, lvi.

[2] Clinton (*Fasti Hellen.*) fixes the commencement of this war in 134; but Diodorus Siculis asserts that it broke out sixty years after the battle of Zama, that is, in 141.

the slaves were in excitement and explosions here and there betrayed the fire that was secretly spreading, at Delos, in Attica, in Campania; even in Latium there were attempts at revolt. Happily for Rome, these great slave-centres were separated by the seas, or by scantily populated regions. Then, as later, an insurrection could not cross the strait because the incitements

Agrigentum.—Sole approach to the fortress Cocalus on the summit of Agrigentum.[1]

which came from Sicily were lost upon the solitudes of Bruttium and Lucania.

A servile war has always a savage character. In this revolt against a society which inflicted upon them such intolerable sufferings, the slaves sought nothing save vengeance and the satisfying of their worst passions. More depraved than their masters, they had no idea of making any change in the established order of things, and these men still scarred with chains, offered no protest against the system of slavery. Eunus enslaved workmen of free condition of whom he had need. It is painful to say it, but the success of the servile insurrection would have been a frightful misfortune. The French Jacquerie were far better, but

[1] From an engraving in the *Bibliothèque nationale*.

after all what did they do with their success? It is impossible to be in advance of the epoch. Slavery, that is to say, compulsory labour, the universal law of the ancient world, could give way only when free labour was honoured and organized.

In 133, Calpurnius Piso, having re-established discipline in the army, compelled the slaves to raise the siege of Messina; Rupilius,

Proserpines Lake, near Enna.[1]

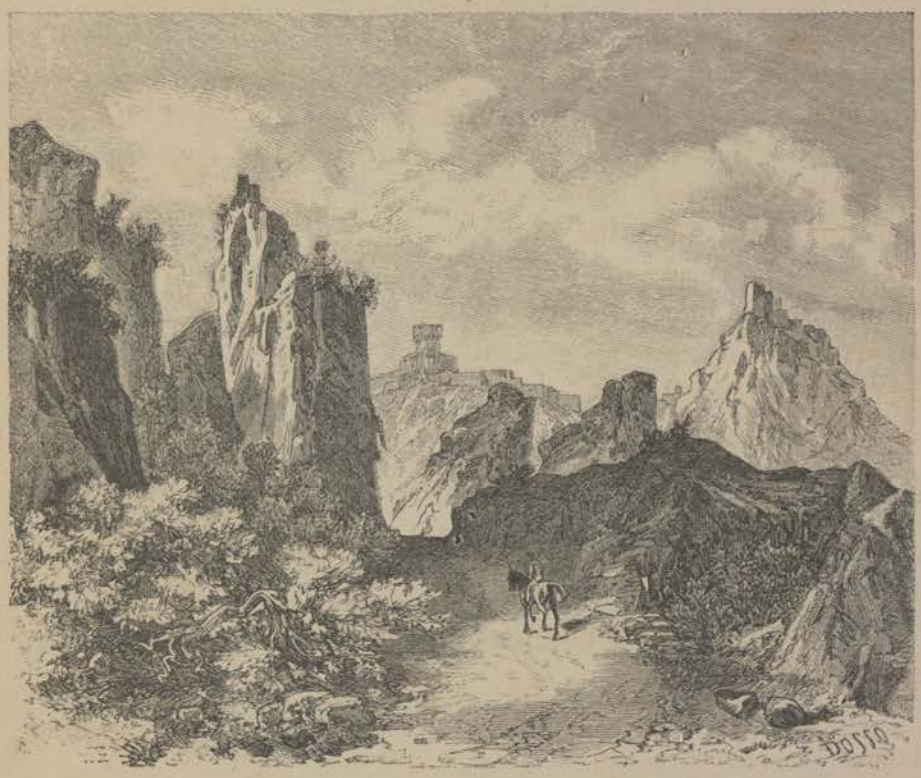
his successor, took Tauromenium, after having reduced them by famine to the greatest straits; Enna, finally, was given up by treachery. Then the slave-army dispersed, and only a few bands were left, easily hunted down among the mountains. All those who were made prisoners perished by torture. "King Antiochus," who had not had the courage to kill himself, was captured in a cave with his cook, his baker, his bather,

Coin of Calpurnius Piso.[2]

[1] From an engraving in the national Library. Proserpine, and her mother Ceres were the tutelary divinities of Enna. See vol. i. p. 644, the coin of this city.

[2] Laurelled head of Apollo, behind it a laurel branch. Reverse, C. PISO L. F. FRVG. Naked horsemen racing. Silver coin of the Calpurnian family.

and his buffoon. He was left to die in a dungeon. Rupilius attempted to ward off danger of further insurrections by wise regulations, which the avidity of the masters soon rendered useless.[1]



Road between Messina and Tauromenium.[2]

The revolt of the slaves was suppressed, but a civil war was beginning.

II.—Tiberius Gracchus.

In England the aristocracy for a long period commanded both Houses of Parliament. The heads of the great houses sat in the House of Lords as hereditary peers, while the younger members of these families were elected by their tenants to the Lower House. Something analogous to this in reality, though in form very

[1] See, upon this war, Diod., fragments of Bk. xxxvi.; Val. Max., *passim*; Flor., iii. 19.
[2] From an engraving in the *Bibliothèque nationale*.

different, existed at Rome before the Gracchi. The chiefs of the great houses were senators, their younger relatives composed the college of tribunes, and in this way, the same spirit, the same interests, reigned in the Forum and in the senate-house. Those whom the people considered their defenders, and with whom originated their resolves and their votes, were not merely friends of the nobles; they were themselves nobles. Thus the aristocratic faction ruled even in the Forum, where formerly storms had gathered against the government; but these storms must burst forth anew as soon as nobles occupy the tribune's office, who, renouncing the spirit of their caste, take the cause of popular interests.

Buffoon or jester.[1]

The first of these nobles were the Gracchi.

If an inheritance of fame obliges a man to noble actions, the Gracchi, descendants of Scipio and sons of the conqueror of Sardinia, must needs rise to great heights to remain worthy of their ancestors.

This renown of the Sempronian family had a character of its own. Military exploits were not wanting to it, but there was, moreover, something like a generous sympathy with the oppressed. It was a Sempronius who had consented to command that army of slaves whose courage did so much towards saving Rome after the battle of Cannæ, and upon the battlefield he had enfranchised them all. He who conquered Spain had pacified it also, and his name was honoured in the mountains of Celtiberia as much as it was popular in Rome itself, with that popularity which clings

[1] From an engraving. (Rich, *Greek and Roman Antiquities*, under the word *Mimus*.)

about great characters, and not with that favour which the crowd accords to him who flatters it best. "A man prudent and serious," says Cicero;[1] "just and inflexible," Cato said, who saw in him a Roman of the old days—Sempronius Gracchus always showed himself the defender of the early constitution. He supported the tottering religion,[2] and whilst he opposed with moderation and dignity the Scipios and the other nobles[3] on the one hand he repressed the publicans, and on the other confined the freedmen to a single tribe,[4] striving at once against the foreign crowd and the new aristocracy, in order to leave the Forum free for what still remained of the true Roman people. In the great families of Rome these domestic traditions were not forgotten, and when Tiberius offered his agrarian law it was not, as has been asserted, on account of his hatred of the senate, but for the sake of relieving the destitution which his father had doubtless lamented, to prevent the misfortunes he had foreseen.

Tiberius and Caius soon lost their father, but Cornelia worthily filled his place. She surrounded them with the most learned Greek masters, and herself directed their education.[5] In their eloquence Cicero recognised their mother's, whose letters he had read.[6] Because she reproached them for the fact that she was spoken of as the mother-in-law of Æmilianus rather than the mother of the Gracchi, her ambition has been censured; it is true she was ambitious, but the sentiment was noble and legitimate; it was her hope that her sons should save their country, and it is easy to pardon the daughter of Scipio that she rose above the weakness and egotism of maternal affection. For herself she asked no other jewels than the glory of her children, and she refused the hand of a Ptolemy[7] and the crown of Egypt. If Tiberius had been successful, far from accusing Cornelia, men would have adored,

[1] *De Or.*, I. ix. 38.

[2] Cic., *ad Quint.*, III. ii. 1; *de Nat. deor.*, II. iv. 10.

[3] He was, while tribune, the enemy of Scipio. Cf. Livy.

[4] See his censorship in Livy *ad Ann.* 169 (xlv. 15). His wife Cornelia bore him twelve children, of whom nine appear to have died young. One of his daughters married Scipio Æmilianus. [Cf. fuller details of his life in Neumann's *Verfall. der röm. Rep.*, p. 105 *seq.*—*Ed.*]

[5] In respect to the severity of the education bestowed in good families, see Tacitus (*de Orat.*, 28).

[6] Cic., *Brut.*, 58.

[7] Ptolemy VI. Philometor.

as she herself said in an eloquent letter, the divinity of his mother.[1]

Tiberius, nine years older than his brother,[2] was distinguished among the young men of his time by his gentle gravity and by the virtues which early gave him a conspicuous position among the nobles. Appius Claudius, an ex-consul, ex-censor, and prince of the senate gave him his daughter in marriage. He at first served in Africa with distinction under the command of Scipio Æmilianus, his brother-in-law, and was the first man to scale the walls of Carthage. Later (in 137) he accompanied the consul Mancinus to Spain as quæstor, where he saved the army, obtaining terms of peace from the Numantines which they had been unwilling to grant to the consul. The senate annulled the treaty, however, and it was their intention to deliver up to the Numantines the consul and his quæstor naked and bound as slaves. But the people would not suffer Tiberius to be punished for his chief's rashness, and Mancinus was given up alone.

Cornelia.[3]

Upon his return from Spain, Tiberius found the fertile fields of Etruria deserted; in Rome, an idle and hungry multitude,[4] no longer nourished by war; throughout Italy many millions of slaves, excited by the news of the successes of Eunus. What remedy could be found for this three-fold evil—the poverty and degradation of the people, the extension of slavery, the desolation of the

[1] Corn. Nepos. During his rule, Caius erected to her, amid the applause of the people, a bronze statue, with the inscription: To Cornelia, mother of the Gracchi.

[2] Plutarch represents him as thirty years of age at the time of his death; but as he was quæstor in 137, and must have been thirty-one to be eligible to this office, we must consider him as being thirty-five when he became tribune.

[3] The figure is also known as the "Reader," a name more suitable, no doubt, than Cornelia. (*Description des principales pierres gravées du cabinet du duc d'Orléans*, t. ii. pl. 18, and p. 41.)

[4] A tribune in Cicero's time, advocating an Agrarian law, said, *Urbanam plebem nimium in re publica posse, exhauriendam esse* (Cic., *de Leg. agr.*, ii. 26). The last colonies founded had been *Luna*, in 177, and *Auximum*, in 157. Since that time, no assignment of land had been authorized.

country? One alone,—to divide those immense domains that the nobles had unjustly seized,[1] to restore to ownership, to regenerate by virtue of labour the indigent crowd,[2] to expel the slaves from the fields by establishing free labourers there, and to change into useful citizens those freedmen who as yet had nothing Roman save the name—in a word, to set the Republic back a hundred years by reconstituting, as the result of an agrarian law, petty ownership in land and a middle class. Not merely was this the only way of salvation left for Rome, but it was the direct carrying on of that wise policy of concessions the senate had long followed. By this policy the Conscript Fathers had rendered Rome so strong that they had never refused to consider the interests of those new elements which from time to time came into existence in the city. To the plebeians they had granted seats in the senate-house, to the poor they had given lands, to the allies privileges, combining with uncommon skill conservative and reform principles, the interests of the original citizens and the welfare of the new members of the Roman world. But since universal conquest had relieved the nobles of all fear and all restraint, they disquieted themselves little about that mass of human beings whom victory had cast into Rome. It seemed to them that the time for compromises had past; in their ambition and pride they did not see that this crowd, sooner or later, would make room for itself; they did not understand that they must find a bed for this torrent under penalty of seeing everything swept away. Tiberius in taking up the *rôle* of Licinius Stolo was not therefore a blind revolutionist. The primitive duality had reappeared; Rome again contained two hostile peoples. The fruitful union which the tribune of the

A Mendicant.[3]

[1] In Cicero's time of the immense domains that the State had held in Italy, there was left only the *ager Campanus*. Cf. *de Leg, agr.*, i. 21; ii. 76, *seq.*; iii. 15, and *ad Att.*, ii. 16.

[2] These again are the counsels which Sallust, or the author of his letters, gives to Cæsar.

[3] From a painting in Herculanum.

fourth century had brought about between patricians and plebeians must be renewed by him of the second century between the nobles and the poor. If he had succeeded in this, if he had been able to succour first the Roman poor and the Italian people, Rome might have still enjoyed a long day of repose, of strength, and of liberty.

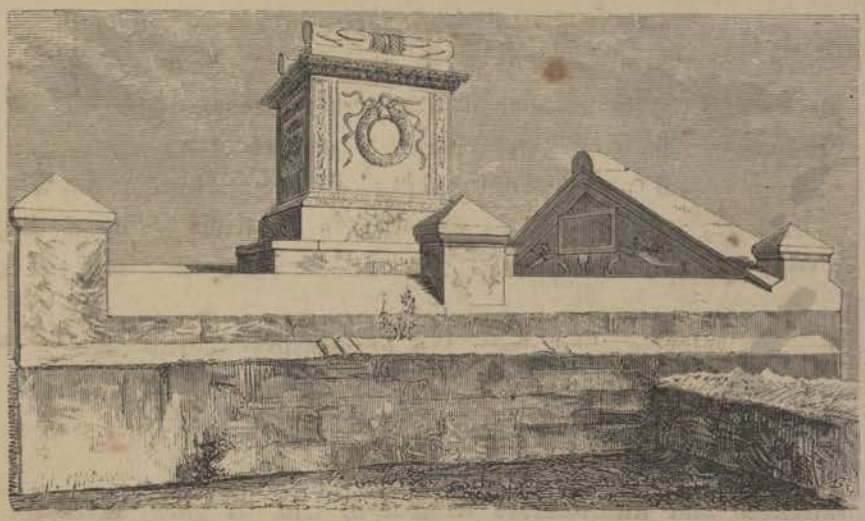
That which to-day is the foundation of socialist doctrines, namely, that in some form the State owes to all its members, land, implements, and credit, that is to say, an opportunity to work, was for very different reasons a thoroughly Roman idea. It came from the very heart of that society, a persistent echo of the ancient *gentes* and of the obligations of the patron towards his clients, like the right, too, of the citizens to divide among themselves that *ager publicus* which they had won for the Republic by their courage. The agrarian laws, the cancelling of debts, the founding of colonies, had been the application of this idea. But it was now long since land had been distributed, and yet there had never been so many poor in need of it. Rome had no other war on hand at this time but that against the Numantines, a formidable and unprofitable campaign, and the war against the slaves, which offered no prospect whatever of gain. All those who for the last seventy-five years had lived by the pillage of the world and by the largesses of generals, were now without employment, restless and eager for any change. Thus revolution was in the air, and there needed only a single voice to say aloud what all men were thinking, and the aristocratic rule must be shaken to its foundations.

The Gracchi were that voice; the weapon they used was the rights of the people, now only vaguely perceived as a confused something above the senate, but brought down by them from the clouds which had veiled it until they gave back to the Forum its revolutionary energy, and to the comitia of the tribes their early daring.

As soon as Tiberius had obtained the tribuneship[1] the people looked to him at once with the expectation of relief from all their distresses (133). Porticoes, temple walls, and tombs were placarded

[1] Dec. 10, 134 B.C. The election occurred in June, but the tribunes did not enter upon their duties until December

with appeals urging him to call for the restitution to the poor of the public lands. Blosius of Cumæ and Diophanes of Mitylene, his former masters, now his friends, his mother and grave senators, all encouraged him. At last, having taken counsel with his father-in-law, Appius,[1] with the pontifex Maximus, Licinius Crassus, with Mucius Scævola, the most celebrated lawyer of his time and the



A Tomb.[2]

consul for the year, he proposed in a tribal assembly of the people the following laws:—

"That no person should occupy more than 500 *jugera* of the *publicus ager*;[3]

"That no person send to the public pasture-lands more than 100 head of cattle or 500 of sheep;

"That each landowner have upon his estate a certain number of free labourers."

This was the original law of Licinius Stolo, which no legal act had ever abolished. Lastly, to render the execution of this law less burdensome to the rich, Tiberius added this clause:—

[1] The same policy was hereditary in the great families of Rome, as now the case in England. This Appius, a friend of the Gracchi, was a descendant of the censor of the year 312, who was so favourable to the middle classes (see vol. i. p. 311), and of the decemvir of 451, who was perhaps also a friend of the poor. (Vol. i. p. 217.)

[2] Tomb at Pompeii. (From Zahn, vol. i. pl. 1.)

[3] Appian (*Bell. civ.*, i. 9), Plutarch (*Tib.*, 8–14), Livy (*Epit.*, lviii.), and Cicero (*de Leg. agr.*, ii. 31), show that he intended only the public lands; 500 *jugera* equal about 126 *hectares*.

"That those occupying public lands should be allowed to occupy 250 jugera apiece for each of their sons in addition to the 500 allowed them; and that an indemnity in the case of buildings erected on public lands should be allowed to their owners.[1]

"The surplus thus taken from the rich was to be distributed in small farms among the poorer citizens, the distribution to be of

Cow-herd.[2]

thirty jugera (seventy-five acres) apiece, to be made by lot, by triumvirs elected as a permanent magistracy, and the estates thus obtained were then to be inalienable and to pay no rent to the public treasury."

They constituted, therefore, veritable landed property in every respect except that they could not be sold.

The rich were overwhelmed with consternation. They complained indignantly that this law proposed to deprive them of the

[1] Μισθὸν ἅμα τῆς πεπονημένης ἐξεργασίας αὐτάρκη φερομένους (App., *Bell. civ.*, i. 11), and not an indemnity for the value of the land given up, as has often been said, following Plutarch. (*Tib.*, 9.) Appian says also that each child, ἑκάστῳ, and not all the children collectively, should have 250 *jugera*, but it appears that the head of a family might occupy in the name of two sons only, making 1,000 *jugera* the maximum.

[2] Cow-herd driving cattle to pasture. From the *Virgil* of the Vatican.

tombs of their ancestors, the dowry of their wives, the inheritances received from their fathers, lands which they had bought with money, upon which they had bestowed labour, which they had covered with buildings. All this was true. Since the Licinian law had become obsolete, lands unlawfully seized from the public domain had been, like other property, bought, bequeathed, given in pledge, or as dowry. Among the actual holders many had acquired it honestly, although without legal title. But could the State lose its rights, and liberty, her last hope?

Shepherd.[1]

The pillage of the public domain had not been profitable to the nobles of Rome and the publicans only. In the colonies, in the municipia, enjoying the right of citizenship, everywhere that wealth existed, there were occupiers of the public lands. They flocked to Rome, and until the day of the comitia the city was a prey to the most violent agitation. The day having arrived, Tiberius ascended the platform. "Is it your judgment," he said to the assembly, "that the lands which belong to the people should be given to the people? that what was conquered by all should be divided amongst all? Do you believe that a citizen is more useful than a slave, a brave legionary than a man who cannot fight, a faithful Roman than a foreigner and an enemy?" And, addressing himself to the rich, "Relinquish a portion of your wealth lest the whole be taken from you some day.

To these words he added prophetic advice: "The larger part of our territory," he said, "is a gain from war, and the conquest of the world is promised you. You will succeed if you have citizens enough; you will lose even what you now

[1] From a Pompeian painting. Shepherd leaning upon the *agolum* or goad.

possess if their number, as at present, continues steadily to decrease." The first part of this prediction was fulfilled, but as the nobles would not aid the Gracchi in healing this pauperism which was undermining the Republic, it was by mercenaries, who filled the place of citizens under her banner, that the world was conquered, and these mercenaries brought more ruin to the Roman

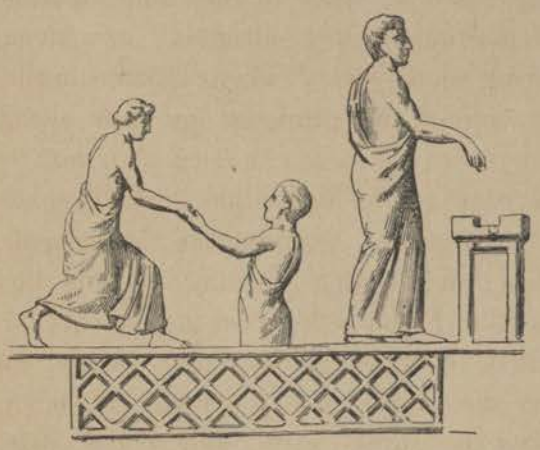
Aspect of the Roman Forum in 1653.[1]

aristocracy than the loss of their wealth; they destroyed their power and the old liberties of Rome.

The people were about to vote by their tribes, but the rich faction had secretly gained over the tribune Octavius, himself a large holder of public lands, and he interposed his veto. Tiberius, exasperated, withdrew the two clauses which alone rendered his proposed law tolerable to the other party, the indemnity and the

[1] From the work of Du Pérac, who visited Rome at a time when many buildings existed which have since disappeared [and many were hidden which are now again uncovered.—*Ed.*].

larger allowance to the present holders.[1] From this moment nothing but violence could be anticipated, for the reform was growing into a revolution, and threw into the opposition those moderate persons who would have been willing to buy peace and security at the price of a part of their fortune, but whose patriotism did not go so far as to brave actual penury.



Voting upon the *pons suffragiorum*.[2]

Octavius adhered to his veto. In vain Tiberius employed the most eloquent persuasions, and in vain offered to indemnify his colleague from his own purse for his possible losses. The tribune could not be moved, and Tiberius was impelled to desperate measures. In virtue of the unlimited power given by the tribune's veto, he suspended the entire administration of government, forbade the magistrates to exercise their authority, sealed the door of the treasury, and forbade any other affairs to be brought forward until the vote upon the law should have been taken.[3]

There ensued a curious scene: the rich assumed mourning and went about the city soliciting the compassion of the people. In secret they posted assassins to remove Tiberius. The latter, warned of his danger, allowed the point of a poniard to be seen from under his toga. Upon the day of the assembly, when he called the people to vote, the opposition seized and carried away the urns. This act of violence would have been the signal for an appeal to arms, but two senators of consular rank threw themselves at the feet of Tiberius and conjured him to renounce his endeavour, or at least to refer the matter to the senate. The all-powerful tribune was so convinced of the justice of his cause that

[1] Plut., *Tiber. Gracch.*, 10; Appian says nothing of this withdrawal.

[2] From a coin. To guard against fraud the voters were obliged to pass one by one across an extremely narrow bridge to deposit their vote.

[3] [This expedient of stopping a government's supplies is the ordinary weapon of a constitutional opposition now-a-days.—*Ed.*]

he consented to go to the senate-house, but the faction of the rich were supreme there, and no conciliation was possible.

Tiberius then proposed to Octavius that as one or the other of them must be deposed, they should appeal on this point to a popular vote,[1] but Octavius refused to agree to this, and Tiberius proposed to the people the deposition of his colleague. Seventeen out of the thirty-five tribes had voted for it, when Tiberius made a last effort; he stopped the voting, and throwing his arms about Octavius, conjured him in the name of their old friendship not to expose himself to the affront of a public deposition, and to spare him the odium of so extreme a measure. Octavius for the moment was moved to tears; he stood silent; then turning towards the crowd of nobles gathered in the Forum, he seemed suddenly to fear their reproaches, and cried, haughtily, "Let the people do what it desires!" Upon this the voting was resumed, and being deposed, he was dragged down from the rostra, and would have been murdered by the crowd had not Tiberius interposed and rescued him. A slave preceding him through the crowd fell, pierced with many wounds. This was the first blood shed in the civil war, and the deposition of Octavius was the first attack upon the sacredness of the tribuneship.

Up to this time Tiberius had been in the right; henceforward he was in the wrong, for he, who as tribune, was especially bound to defend the constitution, had ignored its most essential principle. The great tribunes of the fourth century did not act thus. Licinius Stolo had conquered the patricians, not by passion, but by perseverance. That which Licinius had been ten years in obtaining Tiberius sought to obtain in a day, and he obtained it but for a day.

The law passed, indeed, but the difficulty was to execute it. Tiberius had proposed that triumvirs, elected by the people, should proceed at once to effect the distribution, and should remain in office until the work was accomplished.[2] The three individuals appointed were himself, his brother Caius (at the moment absent in Spain), and Appius, his father-in-law. But now began innumerable

[1] [This was no doubt a conscious imitation of the expedient of ostracism at Athens, which Tiberius had learned to understand from his Greek masters.—*Ed.*]

[2] At least we only find them replaced by others in the event of their death.

difficulties in the execution of the law. How was it possible to recognize public land which had been illegally occupied for centuries by private holders? how to make and distribute the lots? Withal, there was the impatience of the poor to be restrained, and the ill-will of the nobles to be baffled. The senate refused Tiberius the tent usually allowed to all citizens occupied in public duty, and for his expenses had made allowance to him, upon the report of Scipio Nasica, only nine obols a day. All methods which had succeeded against Cassius, Manlius, and Spurius Mælius were now tried against him. A senator attested that Eudemus, who had brought to Rome the will of Attalus of Pergamus, had given Tiberius the purple robe and diadem of the king, which the tribune proposed some day to wear in Rome. Tiberius, by way of reply, obtained a decree that the treasures of Attalus should be distributed among the poor citizens who received the public lands, to enable them to buy cattle and agricultural implements.

Up to this time, in order to simplify his position, he had abstained from any attack upon the political rights of the nobles, but he now exasperated the whole senate by declaring that he should personally make his report upon the kingdom of Pergamus to the assembly of the people. This was no less than a first attempt to transfer from the senate to the popular assembly the administration of foreign affairs. Moreover, he sought to abridge the time of military service, to re-establish the appeal to the people from sentences of all kinds, and in the tribunals to add to the senators an equal number of knights. According to some authorities he also made promises to the Italians.[1] But already the people had ceased to follow him. To impress the crowd, simple ideas are needed. When it was a question of the Agrarian law the thirty-five tribes had voted as one man. In the midst of the complications presented by new propositions, the poorer classes no longer recognized that positive and immediate profit which had rallied them around the tribune. Two centuries before, to obtain the opening of the consular office, Licinius had succeeded only by declaring his Agrarian law inseparably connected with his political changes. Tiberius brought forward the latter subsequently, and

[1] Vell. Paterc., ii. 2.

was unsuccessful. Yet he was still popular. One of his friends having died, the crowd rushed to carry the body to the funeral, and as the first pile would not take fire, it was loudly asserted that the man had died by poison. Tiberius felt his own life in danger, staked, as it were, upon the formidable game he was playing. One day he appeared in the Forum clad in mourning, leading by the hand his two children, and implored the people's protection for them and for their mother. The crowd was moved by this appeal, and for some time a great number of citizens watched night and day over their tribune's safety. But they were already beginning to blame him for his conduct in the affair of Octavius. A certain Annius, whom he had accused, having said to him, "If I appeal to one of your colleagues, and if he oppose his veto to your act, will you have him also deposed?" Tiberius, much disconcerted, broke up the assembly, and on the morrow made reply by a long discourse on the inviolability of the tribune's office. "Yes," he said, "the tribune is sacred and inviolable, but

Vestal of the Florentine Museum.[1]

[1] Vestal guarding the sacred fire. (Gore, *Mus. flor.*, pl. 92 and Clarac, *Musée de sculpt.*, pl. 772, No. 1929.)

on one condition, that he is faithful to his duty. Are we to permit a tribune to tear down the Capitol, to burn the military stores, to weaken or destroy the power of the Roman people? What! shall the people dispose at will of the offerings in the temples, use and transfer that which has been consecrated to the gods, and shall it not, in case of need, take away an office it has itself bestowed? Our sacred virgins who guard the undying flame in the temple of Vesta are, for a negligence in their duty, buried alive, and shall not the man, who, as tribune, instead of serving the people, uses against them the very authority they have given him, be at least deprived of his office as the penalty of his crime?"

All this was true, but the inviolability of the tribunes, oppressive as it sometimes was, had been till now respected; Tiberius in disregarding it had betrayed the fatal secret, that the fickle crowd of the Forum could, in a moment of caprice or anger, overthrow the laws, the constitution, and the customs of their ancestors.

Patrician Sandal (*calceus patricius*).[1]

To be secure against all the enmities hat he thad excited, Tiberius needed a second term of office as tribune, and he sought it, but the larger number of his partisans were at the time of year occupied at a distance in gathering in their harvests, and most of his colleagues were unfriendly to him. Plutarch gravely relates that on the day of the assembly Tiberius was for a moment shaken by presages of evil. Two serpents had hatched their young in a richly ornamented helmet which he had used in war. The sacred chickens which he had sent for refused to come and be fed, although their guardian shook the cage violently to compel them to come out. He himself, on coming out of his house, struck his foot so violently

[1] *Museo Borbonico*, xi. 25; Tischbein, i. 14; and Rich, *Greek and Roman Antiquities*, under the word *Calceus*.

against the threshold that the nail of his great toe was split and the blood flowed over the sandal. To end the list, scarcely was he in the street when he beheld two crows fighting upon a roof, and a fragment of a tile fell at his feet. So many superstitious terrors possessed the minds of this people who had ceased to believe in their gods, but still had faith in Fate, as revealed by signs, that the boldest partisans of the tribune sought to turn him back. "What a disgrace for the grandson of Africanus," cried Blosius, however, "to allow himself to be stopped by a crow!" At the same moment came pressing messages to Tiberius from his friends gathered in the Capitol where the election was to take place. All was going well, they said. He was received with the most cordial applause, and a guard was kept to make sure that no unknown person should approach him. Two tribes had already voted for his re-election, when the opposition, who were present in great numbers, cried out that a tribune could not hold office for two terms consecutively. A collision was precipitated; the partisans of Tiberius fell upon their opponents, who fled with the tribunes who were of their party, and spread the news through the city that Tiberius had proclaimed the deposition of all his colleagues and had seized upon the office for the following year.

Meantime he had about him not more than 3,000 men. "At this moment the senator Fulvius Flaccus, standing up in a position where he could be seen by all the assembly, made a gesture indicating that he wished to speak to Tiberius. The latter directed that room should be made for him to approach, and Fulvius made known that the faction of the rich in the senate not having been able to secure the consul on their side had formed the design to kill Tiberius, and to this end had armed their clients and their slaves. Upon receiving this information the friends of Tiberius girt their robes about them, and seizing upon the lictors' rod

Patrician Sandals.

broke them, and armed themselves with the fragments for purposes of defence. Those too distant to hear what had been said being eager to know the meaning of these preparations, Tiberius raised his hand to his head to indicate the danger which threatened him. Upon this his enemies ran to tell the senate, who had gathered in the temple of Fides, that he was asking for the crown. This news caused the senate extreme anxiety. Scipio Nasica called upon the consul to go to the rescue of Rome, and strike down the usurper. Scævola replied, mildly, that he would not set an example of violence, and would cause the death of no citizen without due forms of law. 'If,' he said, 'the people, either won over by Tiberius, or coerced by him, pass any ordinance contrary to the laws, I will not ratify it.' Then Nasica cried out, 'Since the chief magistrate is false to his country, let those who will rescue her follow me!' Saying these words he threw a corner of his robe over his head and made his way to the Capitol, followed by certain of the senate and of the faction of the rich, who were also accompanied by their slaves armed with clubs and sticks, and who seized as they went up fragments of benches which the people had broken in their flight. Thus they came up to Tiberius, smiting all those who sought to defend him with their bodies; many were killed, others pushed towards the Tarpeian rock and hurled over, while the rest fled away.[1] Tiberius himself ran round the temple of *Fides*, whose gates had been closed by the priests, but stumbling over a dead body, he fell near the door, at the foot of the royal statues. As he was endeavouring to rise, one of his colleagues, Publius Satureius, wounded him on the head with a fragment of a bench, and the second blow was given by Lucius Rufus, another tribune, who prided himself upon the act as of a deed well done. More than 300 of the partisans of Tiberius perished with him." After wreaking their vengeance upon the dead bodies, the victorious party flung them into the

Fides.[2]

[1] See vol. i. p. 138 the topographical map of Rome and (p. 221) the Tarpeian rock.

[2] FIDES AVGVST. S.C. *Faith* standing, holding ears of wheat and a basket of fruit Reverse of a great bronze of Plotinus.

Tiber; Caius Gracchus, just returned from Spain, vainly sought to recover the body of his brother.

The senate and the city remained for some time under the terror of this blow. "After the death of Tiberius," says Sallust, "the whole people was accused and prosecuted."[1] All the friends of the late tribune who were not seized were banished, and the others were put to death. Among this number were Diophanes and a certain C. Villius, who was shut up in a barrel filled with serpents and vipers. When Blosius was brought before the consuls he averred that he had done nothing more than follow the orders of the tribune. "But," rejoined Nasica, "if he had ordered you to set on fire the Capitol?" "Tiberius would never have given such an order."—"But if he had?" "I should have obeyed him, for if he had ordered it he would have done for the good of the people." Blosius succeeded in making his escape however, and fled to Aristonicus. After this prince was defeated, he killed himself to avoid falling again into the power of the Romans.

Those who had supported the tribune, even among the most important personages in Rome, now made haste to disown their former conduct. It is sad to find among this number the consul Scævola, who now declared that Nasica, although a private individual, had done rightly in taking up arms, and who issued decrees honouring the latter for his courage. Perhaps the consul, alarmed by the tribune's tendency in his later acts, sought, by sanctioning an act of violence now irreparable, to disarm the nobles and to save at least that agrarian law which he had himself prepared.

Despite these bloody reprisals no one at the moment dared attack the law, so thoroughly was its necessity manifest to all moderate and sagacious men, both in the senate and out of it. Licinius Crassus, father-in-law of Caius, was chosen to fill the place of Tiberius as triumvir, and upon his death in the war against Aristonicus, a popular senator, Fulvius Flaccus, received the appointment. When Appius died, his successor was also an eloquent defender of the law, Papirius Carbo, and an inscription exists wherein Popillius, the consul of that year and a persecutor of the

[1] *In plebem Romanam quæstiones habitæ sunt.* (Sall., *Jug.*, 31.)

friends of Tiberius, boasts that he was the first to substitute upon the allotted domains the stationary labourer for the wandering shepherd.[1] The allotments continued to be made, and their effect was quickly visible; the census of 131 had given but 317,823 citizens competent for service in the legions; that of 125 gave 390,736. In six years the reserve of the army had increased by 72,000 men, and the proletariat had diminished by the same number. This is the justification of the Sempronian law. The tribune, though dead, once more became formidable; the people accused themselves of having allowed him to be destroyed, and Nasica could not show himself in public without being hooted. It was already proposed to cite him before the tribunal, when the senate removed him under pretext of a mission into Asia. He wandered in foreign lands for a long time, consumed with chagrin, and at last ended his life in Pergamus.

III.—Scipio Æmilianus.

When, during a revolution, a great political body takes no conspicuous part, it virtually abdicates. In the strife with Tiberius the senate had suffered a private individual, Scipio Nasica, to play the leading part. The senate lost the prestige of its power, and the satisfaction given to the people by the exile of Nasica had the effect only of encouraging new popular leaders. Carbo, the triumvir, being appointed tribune in 131, recommenced the struggle. He began by proposing ballot for the laws, to the end that the faction of the rich might not be able to exercise surveillance over the voting, and arrest it when it appeared to go against them. In the next place he demanded that an immediate second term of office should be allowed the tribunes, so that the law should no longer give room for the violence by which Tiberius had perished. Another, Atinius, using the means already sanctioned by the nobles, dared to have the censor Metellus seized and beaten because the latter had expelled him from the senate and would

[1] *C. I. L.*, vol. i. No. 551, p. 154: . . . . *eidem que primus fecei ut de agro publico aratoribus cederent.*

have precipitated him from the Tarpeian rock if his colleagues had not interposed to save him.[1] Lastly, Caius Gracchus was already beginning to emerge from the seclusion to which his brother's

Tomb, said to be of the Metelli, upon the Appian Way (Ruins).[2]

death had consigned him. In respect to the propositions of Carbo,

[1] Livy, *Epit.*, lix. It has been maintained that this was the tribune Atinius who obtained the passage of the Atinian law by which every tribune was declared a senator *ex officio*, before that time the tribunes being obliged to wait till the censors had inscribed their names upon the senatorial list. (Aulus Gellius, xiv. 8.) This law, which gave to the tribunes the *jus sententiæ dicendæ* in the senate, that is to say, the full enjoyment of senatorial powers, appears to Willems (*le Sénat. de la rép. rom.*, p. 230), to have been necessarily posterior to the *lex repet.* of 123. That assigns a very late date to it, but the problem is obscure. In 169 a tribune opposed his veto to a proposal of the censors because they not having inscribed his name upon the senatorial list. (Livy, xlv. 15.)

[2] Canina, *la Prima parte della via Appia*, pl. xxx.

the first passed; the second, which tended to establish a popular royalty, failed for the time by reason of the opposition of Scipio Æmilianus.

Terrified, like Mucius Scævola, by the revolutionary character the reform was taking, Scipio had condemned his brother-in-law: "So perish all that do the like again,"[1] he had said on hearing the news of the death of Tiberius; and, returning to Rome with his victorious army in 132, he had not hesitated to sacrifice his popularity by publicly opposing the laws of Tiberius and of Carbo. He thus went over to the party of the nobles, this man to whom the people had given, against the nobles' will and contrary even to the laws, two consulships and the censorship, who knew so well the evils which were destroying the Republic; but he went over carrying with him vast designs. Tiberius had but partially succeeded; his law, advantageous to the poor of the rustic tribes, had not sent into the fields the city population; that starving crowd had not been willing to resign a life passed idly under the porticoes in the Forum, or at the doors of the great.[3] They had refused the competency offered them at the price of labour, and had not dared to defend their own champion. This indolence and timidity inspired the conqueror of Numantia with inexpressible contempt for these men, who, moreover, had never been soldiers. One day, when they interrupted him in the Forum: "Silence!" he cried, "you whom Italy will not acknowledge as her

Roman Soldier.[2]

[1] A verse of Homer. (*Odyss.*, i. 47.)

[2] From the arch of Septimius Severus.

[3] Appian says expressly that the partisans of Tiberius belonged to the rustic tribes, and Tiberius was killed, as we have seen, without resistance when the harvesting had called away the country people from Rome.

children!"[1] And on their increased murmuring against him: "Those whom I brought hither in chains shall never terrify me because some one has stricken off their fetters!" And the freedmen held their peace.

This was the first time that the word Italy was put forward. At the sight of the rustic tribes depopulated and the city encumbered with a strange crowd, Scipio understood that the days of Rome were ended and that the days of Italy were about to begin. To remain a city, however great, was to exist subject to all the disorders of the little decayed republics. This city must become a nation. For the ancients, who concentrated sovereignty in a definite place, and desired to wield it directly without the help of representation, this problem was difficult. It was not perhaps above the grasp of the man whom Cicero took for his hero.

In this new plan the agrarian law was no longer necessary; it would have diminished somewhat the sufferings of the poor and reduced some fortunes which had been unjustly acquired, but no one desired it except the citizens of the rustic tribes; the Roman populace and the nobles alike opposed it, and the people of Italy regarded it with ill-will. To force the holders of public lands themselves to report their estates, the triumvirs had called upon all citizens to denounce them and bring them to justice. From this arose a multitude of embarrassing lawsuits. "Most of the proprietors had no documentary evidence of sale or of grant, and when these papers did exist they were mutually contradictory. When the measurement had been verified it appeared that in some cases estates had passed from cultivated land, built over with dwellings, to mere pasture, and others from fertile ground to marshes. Originally the conquered territory had been very carelessly divided, and, further, the decree which ordered the waste lands to be cultivated had furnished occasion for many individuals to reclaim the ground adjacent to their estates, thus confusing the boundaries of both. The lapse of time had, moreover, changed everything, and the extent of the illegal occupation, though undoubtedly considerable, was now difficult to determine.

[1] Later, on his return from exile, Cicero used the same words: "No! this populace whom Clodius gathers in a mob, and who are in his pay, is not the Roman people; the citizens of the municipia are the true people, master of kings and nations."

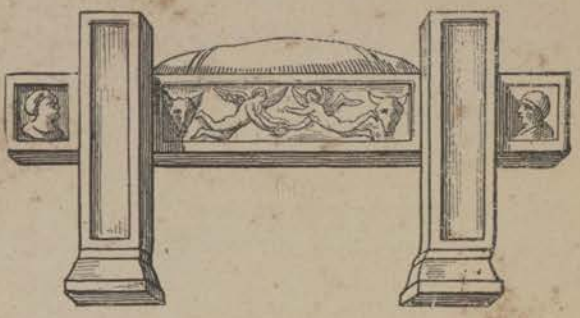
"Irritated at the haste with which all this was being carried out by the triumvirs, the Italians determined to take for their defender against so much injustice the destroyer of Carthage, Cornelius Scipio. Their zeal in his wars would not permit him to refuse this duty; he presented himself in the senate, and, without openly blaming the law of Gracchus, through regard for the plebeians, he set forth at length the difficulties in the way of its execution, ending by the proposal that the right of deciding in these disputes should be taken from the triumvirs as being persons not having the confidence of those concerned. This proposition appeared reasonable; the senate adopted it, and the consul Tuditanus was appointed to make the decisions. But the latter had no sooner begun the work than he became alarmed at the complications it involved, and set off for Illyria. All the business was subsequently adjourned. This result naturally set the populace against Scipio. Twice they had made him consul, and he now was disposed to act against them in the interests of the Italians. The enemies of Scipio said openly that he had decided to abrogate the agrarian law by force of arms and with great shedding of blood."[1] The word "dictator" was mentioned. "We have a tyrant," said Caius Gracchus, and Fulvius threatened Scipio. "The enemies of the State do well," he said, "to wish my death, for they know that Rome cannot perish while Scipio lives."

"One night he had withdrawn with his tablets to meditate upon the address he was to make to the people on the morrow; in the morning he was found dead, but with no trace of violence.[1] According to some the blow was dealt by Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi, who feared the abolition of the agrarian law, and by her daughter Sempronia, the unattractive and barren wife of Scipio, unloving and unloved of her husband. According to others he had committed suicide in his despair at not being able to fulfil his promise. A report was current that certain of his slaves being put to the torture revealed that unknown persons introduced by a back door had strangled their master, and that they had feared to declare the fact, knowing the people would rejoice at it." It

[1] Appian, *Bell. civ.*, i. 18, 19, 20. He was fifty-six years of age. (Vell. Paterc., ii. 4.)

cannot be doubted that this murder was a reprisal for the murder of Tiberius; both sides began to taste blood.

The nobles, who perhaps dreaded Æmilianus as much as did the people, made no attempt to avenge his death; no inquiry was made as to its cause, and he who had destroyed "the two terrors of Rome" had not even a public funeral; one of his political opponents, however, paid him a noble testimony; Metellus Macedonicus desired that his sons should carry the bier. "Never," he said to them, "will it be in your power to render this duty to a greater man."



Funereal Couch.[1]

The Italians, long so eager for the right of citizenship, had for a moment believed their long efforts would at last be rewarded. Every day some of them slipped into Rome; one of their number, Perperna, had just been made consul, and Scipio had undertaken their cause. His death leaving them defenceless, the nobles made haste to shake off the new enemy who sought to mix in their domestic quarrels, and the senate caused all the Italians at that time in the city to be banished from Rome, so that the aged father of the conqueror of Aristonicus was compelled to snatch from his dwelling the consular emblems, and return to his village of Samnium, ignominiously expelled from a city which had once witnessed the triumph of his son (126).

The leaders of the popular party quickly perceived, however, that the senate by their severity were putting the opposition in possession of a powerful weapon, and they seized it with an able hand. Caius Gracchus, at this time quæstor, opposed the expulsion of the Italians, and one of the triumvirs, Fulvius, a friend of the elder Gracchus, being elected consul, gave them permission to appeal to the people against the decree of banishment; then, in order to unite in a common cause two interests hitherto conflicting,

[1] From a funereal bas-relief. (Rich, *Greek and Roman Antiquities.*)

the people and the Italians, he proposed to give the right of citizenship to all those who had received no portion of public lands (125). Fortunately for the senate, whom the consul refused to convoke, the Massiliots at this time implored the assistance of Rome against their neighbours. Fulvius set out with an army; Caius had also been removed by exiling him as pro-quæstor to Sardinia, where an insurrection had just broken out,[1] and the inhabitants of Fregellæ, making the attempt to grasp by force that which had been denied to their entreaties, had an army sent against them under the prætor Opimius. The city, betrayed by one of its inhabitants, Numitorius Pullus, was taken and destroyed, and to this day has never revived.[2] This sanguinary execution arrested for thirty-five years the insurrection of Italy (125).

IV.—Caius Gracchus.

Caius was twenty-one years of age at the time of his brother's death. More impetuous, more eloquent, perhaps less pure in his ambition, he gave grander proportions to the struggle commenced by Tiberius. The latter had sought only to relieve the condition of the poor; Caius assumed to change the constitution itself. At first he had appeared to turn away from the legacy of blood which his brother had left him, but one night, says Cicero, he heard Tiberius saying to him, "Why hesitate, Caius? Thy destiny shall be the same as mine, to fight for the people, and to die for them."[3] Meanwhile he found the number of his partisans increasing as the assignments of land went on, and many owed their prosperity to the Sempronian law. The first time he spoke in public, loud applause welcomed him and inspired him with confidence; he supported the laws of Carbo,[3] and in 127 he offered himself as a candidate for the quæstorship. He was designated by lot to accompany the consul into Sardinia (126). Such was the ascendancy of his name over the allies that the province having on

[1] Val. Max., IV. i. 12; Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Att.*, x. 3. See later the Social war; Val. Max., III. iv. 5; Cic., *Phil.*, iii. 6; Livy, *Epit.*, lx.

[2] It is not certain where this city stood, probably opposite Ceprano, but upon the left bank of the Liris.

[3] Plut., *Caius*, 28 seq., Cic., *de Divin.*, i. 26. Cf. Val. Max., I. vi. 7.

account of a bad season been remitted the requisition of clothes for the soldiers, the quæstor went from town to town and obtained everywhere more than he asked for. Out of regard for him, Micipsa, the Numidian king, sent into Sardinia a great supply of corn. The senate were alarmed at the popularity of a young man who could feed and clothe an army, and to hinder the return of Caius to Rome, the consul was ordered to remain in his province even after the disbanding of the troops, which were replaced by new levies. But Caius did not accept his exile; he hastened to Rome to canvass for the tribunate, and being accused before the censors of having violated the law which required the quæstor to remain with his general, he defended himself by scattering from the rostra, as he himself said, swords and daggers:[1] "I have made twelve campaigns, and the law requires but ten; I have remained three years quæstor, and I could have retired after one year's service. In the province, not my ambition, but the public good has directed my conduct. I had no banquets in my abode nor handsome young slaves, and at my table your children's modesty has been respected more than in the tents of your chiefs. No man can say that he has given me a bribe or spent money for me. The purse that I took full from Rome has come back empty.

Young Slave.[2]

[1] Cic., *de Leg.*, iii. 9.

[2] Bronze bust. (Roux, *Herculanum et Pompéi*, vol. vii. pl. 22.) The beauty of the hair added value to the possession of slaves of this kind. Thus the epithet *comatus*, the long-haired, became a synonym of profligate. (Mart., xii 99.)

Others have brought back full of gold the amphoræ that they carried out full of wine."[1] Other pretexts were alleged against him, such as complicity in the revolt of the Fregellians, but this merely secured for him the favour of the Italians.

Meanwhile the brave Cornelia's courage began, it is said, to fail; it filled her with terror to see him following in his brother's footsteps, and she strove to dissuade him.[2]

But Caius could not draw back. The day of the election to the tribunate all the clients of the nobles, all the citizens scattered

Amphoræ.[3]

throughout Italy came in. The struggle was severe; the nobles could not prevent his election, but he was fourth on the list.

He was eager to inaugurate his office by offering to the *manes* of his brother an expiatory sacrifice of his enemies and murderers. "Whither shall I go?" he cried, with a powerful voice that thrilled all hearts, to the remotest ranks of the crowd, "where shall I find an asylum? In the Capitol? but the temple of the gods is stained with my brother's blood. In my father's house? but I find there an inconsolable mother. Romans, your fathers

[1] Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Att.*, xv. 12.

[2] Campana Museum.

[3] The authenticity of her letters, some fragments of which have been preserved by Corn. Nepos, has been called in question; it is certain, however, that she wrote letters, and eloquent ones, admired by Cicero (*Brut.*, 58), but the eloquent apostrophe to Caius given by Nepos is not genuine.

declared war upon the Faliscans because they insulted the tribune Genucius. They condemned to death C. Veturius because he did not make way for a tribune who was crossing the Forum. It is a custom derived from our fathers that when a citizen accused of a capital crime does not appear, the herald shall go to his door in the morning, shall sound a trumpet and call him by name; only after this may the judges pronounce sentence; but under your eyes these men have slain Tiberius, and dragged his corpse ignominiously through the streets of the city!"

When he saw the people stirred by these words he proposed two laws; the first, directed against Octavius, was to the effect that no citizen once degraded from office by the popular vote could ever again be elected to any public position; the second that a magistrate who should have put to death or exiled a citizen without due form of law should be summoned before the people. At the entreaty of Cornelia he withdrew the former, but the former consul, Popillius Lænas, the persecutor of the partisans of Tiberius, fled the city as soon as the second became law. Tiberius had set the fatal example of impairing the inviolability of the tribuneship; Caius, in making his two laws retrospective, established the precedent of employing the law in the service of private vengeance. The day came when Clodius remembered this.

Having thus offered satisfaction to his brother's *manes*, Caius took up the projects of Tiberius and developed them further. They were as follows: a new confirmation of the agrarian law; regular distributions of corn at half price ($6\frac{1}{3}$ *ases* the bushel);[1] gratuitous supply of military clothing to soldiers serving and prohibition of enrolment of young men before the completion of their seventeenth year;[2] the establishment of new taxes upon

[1] In Livy (*Ep.*, lx.) it is said $\frac{5}{6}$ of an *as: semisses et trientes*, but the manuscripts authorize us to read: *senos* [*æris*] *et trientes*, as has been written by the Schol. Bob., *ad Cic. Sext.*, 25. Cf. Mommsen, *Die röm. Tribus*, p. 179. (The *modius* is a little more than a peck of our measure.) In commerce the *modius* was worth three or four *sesterces*, that is, twelve to sixteen *ases*. (Bœckh, *Metr. Unters.*, p. 420.) If the price of the *modius* had been only $\frac{5}{6}$ of an *as* Cicero would not have been able to say in his oration (*pro Sestio*, 25) that Clodius in suppressing all taxes had caused the State to lose $\frac{1}{2}$ of its revenues. The quantity allowed to each citizen was five *modii* a month.

[2] And perhaps also a reduction in the duration of military service required, from ten, namely, to six campaigns.

articles of luxury imported from foreign countries;[1] the establishment of colonies for the benefit of the poor; and, lastly, for those who needed employment while waiting for the agrarian law to take effect, the construction of public granaries, of bridges, and highways, which he himself laid out, which would increase the value of lands by opening thoroughfares. Caius also established mile-posts, indicating distances, and blocks to accommodate riders.[2] At the same time he flattered the pride of the multitude; the rostra had been placed before the comitium under the eye of the senate, and public speakers had been wont to turn towards the senate in their addresses; Caius, however, always pointedly addressed the crowd as the true masters, the sovereign people, of Rome.

Roman Horseman.[3]

The laws proposed by the new tribune were all excellent; one of them, however, has given rise to many declamations, the selling of corn to the people under the market price. But this measure, to which the senate had often recourse, was a strictly logical consequence of the rights involved in victory, as understood by the Romans, and with them by all ancient nations. In accordance with these ideas, the conquered owed, as the price of his life, a portion of his income, which he paid in the form of a tax, and a portion of his land, which he gave up for the public domain of the victor. These lands and this money were then divided into two parts—one reserved for the needs of the State, the other claimed in the name of those who, being, in spite of

[1] *Nova portoria.* (Vell. Paterc., ii. 6.) The *portorium,* or port dues, was an *ad valorem* tax of 2½ per cent. for ordinary objects (Quintil., *Declam.*) and for objects of luxury of 12 per cent.

[2] [The ancients used no stirrups; hence mounting on horseback was always difficult for ordinary riders.—*Ed.*]

[3] From the column of Marcus Aurelius.

their destitution, the sovereign people, had a right to apply by vote to the relief of their own suffering what was gained in common upon the field of battle, but of which the rich had hitherto assumed the sole disposal. Now the *ager publicus* was at this time sufficiently extensive, and the revenues drawn from the provinces abundant enough,[1] to justify the State in dividing both lands and corn among its poorer citizens. To those who were willing to go away from Rome as colonists Caius gave land; to those who preferred to remain in the city he distributed corn. His law was, therefore, no more than a special form of those agrarian laws which we must consider as legitimate then, though they would be unjust at the present day. That this law had not been proposed sooner was simply due to the fact that it had not been needed so long as the class of petty landowners preserved Rome from pauperism. But institutions change with manners; by the growth of a starving populace the rendering of State assistance became a social necessity, which the second Cato, one of the chiefs of the aristocracy himself, recognized when he took up the law which Caius had introduced, and even made it more liberal. The assistance which we give to our poor through charity the Roman society gave from a sense of justice, at least as justice was at that time understood.[1]

After having by these popular innovations gained the army, the rustic tribes, and the poor of Rome, Caius began to attack the privileged classes. Since the year 179 the nobles and the richer citizens had again possessed themselves of the preponderance in the centuriate assembly; to deprive them of it without again throwing this assembly into disorder the tribune obtained the passage of a decree that in future the order in which the centuries

[1] By the extinction, after the conquest of Macedon, of the only tax which the citizens paid, *tributum ex censu*, Rome had announced her intention of living at the expense of her conquests, which should henceforth pay for the army and the expenses of government. The *frumentationes* were a consequence of this principle; the subjects, by their contributions in kind, furnished a part of their masters' subsistence. Observe that any citizen living in Rome, whether he were rich or poor, ἑκάστῳ τῶν δημοτῶν (App., *Bell. civ.*, i. 21), *viritim* (Cic., *Tuscul.*, iii. 20), had a right to share in these distributions, but it was necessary to be present in person, as was one day the consul Piso. (Cic., *ibid.*) This necessity had the effect of hindering the rich from taking their share as mendicants, but it confirms what we have said of the character of these laws. The corn paid in tribute was as much the property of the citizens as the money so paid, the former helped them to live, the latter defrayed the expenses of government.

voted should be determined by lot. The last might thus be called on first, and the majority would no longer depend on the vote of the rich. The vote of the centuria, which went first to the polls, the *centuria prærogativa*, had in the eyes of the Romans a special importance, being, as they conceived, in some way the result of divine inspiration,[1] and the determining this by lot gave a democratic air to the whole transaction. New clauses added to the *Porcian law* forbade all magistrates to proceed against any citizen without the order of the people. This was, in effect, to deprive the senate of its right to have recourse to a dictatorship or to extraordinary commissions, like the one which had been so severe towards the partisans of Tiberius.

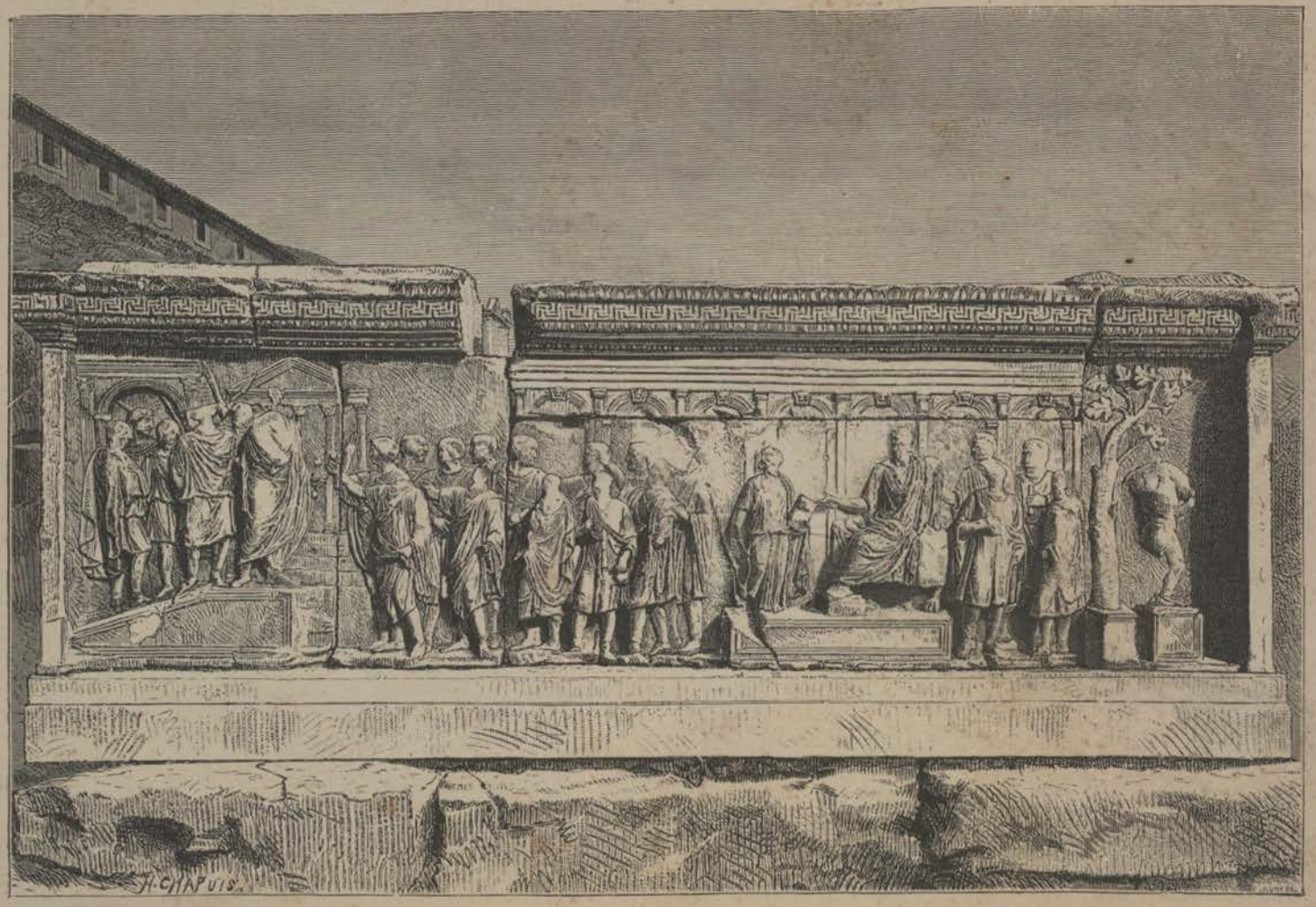
Gratuitous Distribution to the People.[2]

A much more important change gave to the equestrian order all the judicial authority in criminal cases brought before the tribunal of the *quæstiones perpetuæ*.[3]

[1] . . . . *Prærogativam omen comitiorum.* (Cic., *de Divin.*, i. 45, ii. 40.) It has been maintained that by the new order only the first to vote out of the seventy centuries should be selected by lot. (See vol. i. p. 560, n. 1.) So small a reform as this would not have been worthy the attention of Caius, for it would have changed hardly anything. (Cf. Cic., *pro Mur.*, 23, and Sallust, *Ep.* to Cæsar, 7.)

[2] From a coin of Nerva (enlarged). The emperor in person is seated at the left on a kind of stage (*suggestum*); before him an officer employed in the distribution of assistance in giving bread to a citizen who is coming up the steps, while another officer or magistrate presents to the inspection of the emperor the ticket (*tessera*) which the citizen has given him. A statue of Mars presides over the scene.

[3] See in Cicero's orations against *Verres* the political importance which he attaches to the tribunals: *ejusmodi respublica debet esse et erit, veritate judiciorum constituta ut . . . .* (*II. in Verr.*, iii. 69.) In the last century of the Republic, and perhaps as far back as the year 129(?), the knights had been obliged to relinquish the horse at public expense, that is to say, withdraw from the equestrian order when they entered the senate. For the equestrian rank, property of at least the value of 400,000 *sesterces* was requisite.



Bas-relief from the Forum representing (1) an Orator on the Rostra, (2) a Judge sitting in Court.

In a republic the judicial power is perhaps the most important. If it fall into the hands of a party it becomes an instrument of persecution and injustice. Hence in the Italian cities of the mediæval period the *podestat* was never a citizen, but a foreigner. At Rome, when the senate gave decisions, *judicia publica*, that is to say, when it united the executive and judicial powers, besides a considerable share of legislative authority, the ruling class were almost sure of impunity. At this very time envoys from several provinces were vainly asking for justice upon Aurelius Cotta, Salinator, and Manius Aquillius. Moreover, these senatorial judges were not all men of character. An orator depicts them on their way to their session after revels with courtesans. "When the tenth hour[1] approaches they send a slave to the Forum to know what has been done, who has spoken on both sides, and how the tribunes have voted. The moment having arrived, they present themselves in the comitium just in time to escape their fine, and come into the tribunal in very ill-humour.[2] 'Begin,' they cry, 'let us hear the arguments.' They have witnesses summoned, making various interruptions;[3] then, calling for the documents in the case, and heavy with wine, can scarcely raise an eyelid. Finally they vote, exclaiming, 'What nonsense all this is! Let us have some good Greek wine mixed with honey and a fat thrush, with a pike caught between the bridges.'"[4]

Caius profited by this kind of scandal to propose his law, which was designed to separate from the senate a certain number of wealthy citizens and place the governors of provinces at the mercy of the bankers, *argentarii*. If the knights, in fact, filled all the tribunals, the publicans had no reason to fear that any

[1] The Roman day was divided, for summer as well as winter, into twelve parts, the hours differing in length according to the time of year. Thus at the summer solstice the first hour began at 4·27 and ended at 5·42½, the twelfth at 6·17½ and ended at 7·33. At the winter solstice the first hour began at 7·33 and ended at 8·17½, the twelfth at 3·42½ and ended at 4·27. The tenth, therefore, corresponded to 3·46½ in summer, and 2·13½ winter. (Ideler, *Handbuch der Chronologie.*)

[2] Martial, xii. 48. Cf. also Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xxxv. 17.

[3] *Quippe qui vesicam plenam vini habent.* (Discourse of the Roman knight Titius in 161 in support of the Fannian law, in Macrobius, *Sat.*, II. ix. 12.)

[4] The pike, fattened upon all the filth of the Tiber, had a great reputation.

one would dare to appeal from their exactions, and upright governors were in danger of a capital sentence.

Tomb of an *Argentarius*.[3]

In bringing about a revolution like this in the judicature Caius gave a sore blow to public morals. If the senators did not administer justice in all cases faithfully, the men of money sold it,[1] an infamy to which the nobles rarely stooped. Doubtless he had foreseen this danger, and the reproaches of the old Romans, who cried out to him, "The Republic has now two heads; shall this civil war be eternal?"[2] But his brother having failed in creating from the people, by the re-establishment of small farmers, a middle class between the senate and the populace, Caius resigned himself to the forming of this intermediate order from men who should belong to the people

[1] However, the prætor Hostilius Tubulus, whom Cicero calls the vilest of men, did in fact sell his vote in a criminal case in the year 142; for this crime he was prosecuted and sentenced to death, and took poison in prison. (Cic., *ad Att.*, xii. 5, *de Fin.*, ii. 16, and Asconius in *Cicer. Scauro*, p. 25, Orelli's edition.)

[2] *Bicipitem ex una fecerat civitatem.* (Flor., iii. 17; Cf. Vell. Paterc., ii. 6.) This change was so important that Tacitus reduces nearly to this one question the rivalry between Marius and Sylla: . . . . *de eo vel præcipue bellarent.* (*Ann.*, xii. 60.) Cicero says also in the *pro Font.*, 3: *Quum . . . . maximi exercitus civium dissiderent de judiciis ac legibus.* Plutarch (Caius, 3) says that the list of the judges comprised 300 senators and 300 knights; it is possible in a former scheme of a law Caius made this concession to the senate, but he must have suppressed it later, for otherwise it is impossible to understand the importance of this reform. Appian (*Bell civ.*, i. 22) affirms, moreover, that Caius transferred the judicial powers from the senators to the knights. It was doubtless he who fixed their property qualification at 400,000 *sesterces*.

[3] Canina, *la Prima parte della via Appia*, vol. ii. pl. xxii. fig. 6.

by their origin, and to the nobles by their wealth. Unfortunately this was not creating a new class, but merely a new party.[1] The great capitalists, the men of equestrian rank, and the *publicani* (these latter terms having come to be nearly synonymous)[2] by this time formed a powerful body, to whom the judicial decisions should by no means have been entrusted if justice was to keep clear from party quarrels. But Caius could not bring down to any lower class the functions which had always heretofore been reserved for the chiefs of the State.[3] Half a century must pass before it will at last be understood that, to secure impartiality, the administration of justice should be entrusted not to any one class of citizens, but to the most upright citizens of all classes. And for Caius, moreover, in this reform the political question obscured the question of equity; any weapon seemed to him good against his opponents. He believed that what he took away from the senate would be of service to the people and to liberty, and that the equestrian order would through gratitude aid him in his other designs. "With one blow I have broken," he said, "the pride and the power of the nobles." They knew it, and threatened him with their vengeance. "But," he said, "though you should kill me, can you pluck out the sword I have buried in your side?"[4] And in spite of Montesquieu's severe judgment, who wrote in that parliamentary spirit so hostile to bribery, in spite of the fact, too well established, that unjust sentences were often given by the new judges, we must applaud this attempt of Caius to create what Napoleon used to call a great intermediate body. Without it perhaps the Republic would have perished earlier than it did, for it was with the equestrian order that Cicero opposed Catiline. But still the world would have been the gainer, had this death-struggle of liberty been of briefer duration.[5]

[1] Judicial decisions became so ready a weapon in the hands of parties that *seven times* in the space of fifty-three years the organization of the tribunals was changed, and every change corresponds to a revolution in the State.

[2] Cicero himself says: *publicani, hoc est, equites Romani.* (*II. in Verr.*, iii. 72.)

[3] A *lex Servilia repetundarum* (*C. I. L.*, vol. i. No. 198) and another *lex Acilia*, both of uncertain date, but posterior to Caius, determine various details of the new judicial organization.

[4] *Exc. Vat.*, ii. 10, 115; *ad Diod.*, xxxviii. 9. See in Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Att.*, xi. 10, other very bitter words against the senate.

[5] There is no inconsistency between this and what has been said earlier, that the publicans

Caius believed that he had restored strength to the constitution; to make the empire firmer, by interesting a numerous population in its defence, he now proposed to give to the Latin allies the right to aspire to Roman magistracies, *jus honorum*, and to the Italians the right of suffrage. The strength of the democratic party was to be greatly increased, but the aristocratic element was also to strengthen itself by the allied nobles whom their fortune classed with the equestrian order; the senate with its noblesse, the knights with their judicial power, would be strong enough to repress the crowd and maintain the balance of power.

Warrior found near Tarentum.[1]

Thus the soldiers received gratuitous clothing, the poor of the city corn, the Latins a share in the magistracies, the Italians the prospect of citizenship, the equestrian order judicial functions, that is to say, the poor were succoured, the oppressed defended, and an attempt made to establish an equilibrium in the State: such were the acts of that memorable tribuneship. Caius had put in practice what his brother and his brother-in-law, Tiberius and Scipio Æmilianus, had desired. He seemed greater than either of them, and to see him constantly surrounded by magistrates, soldiers, men of letters, artists, ambassadors, one would have thought him a king in Rome. He was so, in truth, by the popular favour, by the terror of the nobles, by the gratitude of the equestrian order[2] and of the Italians; and to this he sought to add the affection of the people of the provinces. The pro-prætor

supported Cæsar against the republican oligarchy. They served different men, always, however, remaining faithful to the same conservative principles, allies of Cicero against the accomplices of Catiline, who wished for nothing but pillage, allies of Cæsar against a feeble government, which was ruining them by allowing the empire to be disorganized.

[1] A pretty statuette in bronze, belonging to the collection of M. Gréau, exhibited in the Trocadéro (Paris) in 1878.

[2] To him had been conceded by the people the right to name the 300 knights who were to be judges. (Plut., *Caius*, 3–7.)

had sent from Spain corn wrung from the inhabitants by extortion, and Caius caused its price to be remitted to them. The consuls had been accustomed to obtain from the senate such provinces as they individually selected for the prospect of military glory or for the opportunity of pillage; he obtained a decree that the provinces should be named before the election of the consuls, and lots drawn for them so that the interests of the State, and no longer those of the individual, should be consulted.[1] He also proposed to rebuild Capua and Tarentum, and notwithstanding the imprecations which had been pronounced against the re-building of Carthage, to send thither a colony[2] for the purpose of showing to the world the new spirit of free thought and grandeur which henceforth should reign in the councils of Rome.[3]

Tiberius had formed the design of regulating the financial organization of Pergamean Asia, recently acquired by Rome, but his life had been cut short. Caius now took up his brother's plan and obtained a decree from the popular assembly that the tithes of Asia should be farmed out at Rome by the censors, a regulation which has been generally regarded as merely a favour to the publicans, but which, to judge from the general spirit of the tribune's reforms, must have been, at least in the beginning, a measure intended to benefit the new province.

To consolidate his power and render his work lasting, Caius asked the people to appoint as consul his friend Fannius Strabo. As for himself, he had no need to solicit a second term of office, for he was unanimously re-elected. The nobles were completely overthrown; knowing, however, the fickle character of the populace, they prepared a scheme against Caius, by means of which they ere long succeeded in destroying his popularity, and this was to show themselves more on the popular side than himself. They suborned one of the newly-elected tribunes, Livius Drusus, who outbid in the senate each proposition of his colleague. Caius had asked for the establishment of two

[1] Sall., *Jug.*, 27; Cic. *de Prov. cons.*, 2, 15. [This was one of his best laws, provided no great crisis required a special general; but this difficulty was easily met.—*Ed.*]

[2] This was the first attempt to apply to the provinces the system that had so well succeeded in Italy, by which the Latin race was to be propagated throughout the empire.

[3] It should here be said that we are not able to distinguish between the laws of the first and second tribuneship of Caius, nor is the question important.

colonies; Livius proposed to found twelve, of 3,000 citizens each. He had subjected the lands distributed to the poor to an annual tax; Livius suppressed the tax. It was his design to give full citizenship to the Latins; this Livius vetoed, but asked and obtained a decree that henceforward no Latin soldier should be beaten with rods. In his eagerness Caius put himself upon all commissions, drew money from the treasury for the public works that he had caused to be voted and took charge of them himself, was seen everywhere and busy about everything. Drusus, on the other hand, affected to limit himself strictly to the duties of his office, and this reserve, this probity, careful to avoid even the slightest suspicion of ambition or avidity, charmed the crowd, which is delighted with contrasts, and eager for anything novel.

Juno.[1]

Fannius also had gone over to the faction of the nobles and opposed the man to whom he owed his consulship. In opposition to the proposal to accord the full franchise to the Latins, he pronounced a discourse much admired even in the time of Cicero, a remaining fragment of which, however, shows us that exciting the appetites of the rabble was sufficient to hinder a new step in the traditional practice of Rome, namely, the progressive enlargement of the city. "You believe, then, that after you have given the city to the Latins you will remain what you are to-day; you will have the same place in the comitia, in the games, in the amusements (and we cannot doubt that he added "in the distributions")? Do you not see that these men will fill all[2] and

[1] Bronze statuette from the *Cabinet de France*, No. 3199 of the catalogue. The right hand is damaged.

[2] Meyer, *Orat. Rom. frag.*, p. 191.

will take all?" No higher arguments were needed with men who, having as Cato said, a belly but no ears, sold themselves to the highest bidder.

Weary of this strange strife, Caius set off to conduct 6,000 Roman colonists to Carthage, which he named *Junonia*, the city of Juno.[1] This absence, imprudently prolonged for three months, left the field open to Drusus, and he was able to make it plain to the equestrian order that they could henceforth only lose by an alliance with this tribune, the executor of the agrarian law, and to the people that the senate, while even more liberal than Caius towards them, would not degrade them by raising the Italians to equal privileges. When Caius reappeared his popularity was gone; his friends in danger, the equestrian order detached from him, and one of his most violent enemies, Opimius, the destroyer of Fregellæ, proposed for the consulate. From this time it was evident that the tragedy of Tiberius was coming on again. Caius quitted his home on the Palatine and took lodgings near the Forum to be in the midst of the people, and called around him the Latins. But a consular edict banished all Italians from Rome, the tribune vainly protesting against this decree, but not daring to hinder its execution. Under his eyes one of his friends and guests was dragged to prison, and he did not interfere. His confidence was gone, and soon the last remnant of power slipped from his hands; he could not obtain a third term of office as tribune (122).

Opimius.[2]

Diademed Juno, with the *Ægis* of Minerva.[3]

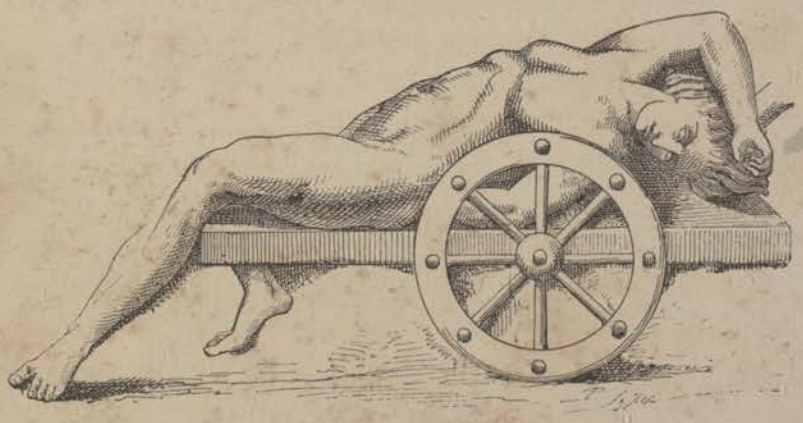
The new consul, to exasperate Caius and drive him to some act which would justify violence, spoke openly of annulling the tribunes' laws, and ordered an inquiry into the *Junonian* colony. Directly all the evil omens of which the senate had need were

[1] We have seen (vol. i. p. 532, n. 5) that the legend of Æneas was received in Italy as early as the middle of the third century B.C.; the name given by Caius to Carthage makes allusion to the other part of the legend preserved by Virgil, the hatred of Juno towards the fugitive Trojans.

[2] L. OPEIMI ROMA. Victory in a quadriga. Reverse of a denarius of the Opimian family. The consulate of Opimius was remarkable for the extreme heat of the autumn and the excellence of that year's vintage, long famous under the name of *vinum Opimianum*. Some of it had been preserved as late as the time of Pliny. (*Hist. Nat.*, xiv. 4.)

[3] Sardonyx from the *Cabinet de France*.

forthcoming: a standard torn by the wind from the hands that held it and broken in pieces; the entrails of the victim swept from the altar by a furious gust and flung outside the enclosure; the boundary stones of the city even dug up by wolves and carried off. The gods manifestly would not endure that the accursed city should be rebuilt, and the man who had proposed this was guilty of sacrilege towards the immortal gods and towards Rome. He must defend himself or expect destruction. The first blood was shed by the partisans of reform; they slew one Antyllius, who, according to some, had merely grasped the hands of Caius, imploring him to spare his country, but, according to others,



Corpse upon a Cart.[1]

being a consular lictor, had insulted the ex-tribune and his friends, crying out to them, "Bad citizens, make way for honest men!"

Violent rain coming on separated the parties; on the morrow, at the break of day, Opimius convened the senate. While they were assembling, men selected by the consul laid the body of Antyllius upon a bier, and after bearing it through the city with lamentations, set it down before the door of the senate-house. The senators interrupted their debate to come forth and look upon this corpse, so useful to their purpose; they surrounded it, lamenting loudly, and honouring with feigned grief the death of this hireling, they who not long before had dragged through the streets

[1] Bas-relief from a Roman tomb.

and cast into the Tiber the grandson of the conqueror of Zama. Returning to their seats they at once invested Opimius with the dictatorial power by the formula, *videret Consul ne quid respublica detrimenti caperet.*[1]

By carrying the dead body through the city a part of the populace had been excited; by a promise of amnesty to those who should abandon the tribune before the combat another portion had been detached; the decree "against the tyrants" completed the work, isolating the democratic faction and serving as a pretext to all forms of cowardice, especially that of the rich, those same publicans who owed so much to Gracchus, and who did nothing for him.

During the night, Opimius had posted a band of Cretan archers in the Capitol and the temple of the Dioscuri, whence he commanded the entire Forum. He enjoined the senators and the knights of their party to arm themselves and retainers and bring them to the curia. They eagerly obeyed; even the aged Metellus, conqueror of Macedon and Greece, returned to the senate-house with sword and buckler. On the other side also preparations were made, but without order or decision. The ex-consul Fulvius, one of the triumvirs appointed for the execution of the agrarian law, had armed his followers with the Gallic weapons hung as trophies in his house, and had taken up a position upon the Aventine, the old citadel of the plebeians; he was here joined by a band of freedmen and peasants, whom Cornelia had sent to her son disguised as harvest men. As he went Fulvius had called slaves to liberty. In the days of their power these reformers had only seen the destitution of the Roman populace; oppressed in their turn they remembered at the last moment men more wretched still, and added a new cause of displeasure to all those which had so exasperated the nobles against them.

Caius shrank from such a violent struggle; he knew that his last hour had come, and his sacrifice was prepared: these Romans knew how to die. But his great designs must also fall with him; and to feel that soon nothing would remain of his generous efforts—this was the poignant grief that cut him to the heart.

[1] [This decree was a direct violation of the *lex Sempronia* passed two years before. (Cf. p. 426.).—*Ed.*]

The evening before, returning from the Forum, he had stopped before his father's statue, contemplating it for a long time, the tears running silently down his face. In the morning he went out wearing his toga as usual, and having only a short dagger in his belt, not for purposes of fighting, but to remain master of his life, or, rather, of his death. His wife, Licinia, would have stopped him on the threshold, but he gently freed himself from her. When

The Aventine Hill and Remains of the *ponte Rotto*.[1]

he went away she fell fainting, and her slaves carried her, still unconscious, to the house of Crassus, her brother.

Following the advice of Caius, Fulvius sent to the senators his youngest son, carrying a caduceus in his hand; the boy was

[1] The *ponte Rotto*, originally *pons Æmilius*(?), finished while the second Africanus was censor (142), seems to have been constructed with the design of doing duty for the *pons Sublicius*, which was of wood, and preserved from religious considerations, although it had ceased to be employed for traffic. (See vol i. p. 29, 55, and 83.) Engraving from the Duchess of Devonshire's *Æneid*.

a handsome child, and some of the senators were touched by his appeals for reconciliation, made with tears. Opimius, however, haughtily declared that the guilty should not be allowed to say anything through the medium of a messenger, but must appear in person if they hoped to mitigate the senate's just displeasure. Caius was willing to go before the senate, to demand a trial, and to plead once more the people's cause together with his own, but his friends would not suffer this, and Fulvius sent again by his son to obtain if possible some guarantee of their personal safety. Then the consul, impatient to bring the matter to a close, ordered the boy to be detained and marched upon the Aventine with a body of soldiers and the Cretan archers, whose arrows quickly put to flight the cowardly rabble, already reduced to half its number by a fresh offer of amnesty. Fulvius and his eldest son having taken refuge in a deserted hut were discovered and massacred.[1]

Caius had taken no part in the struggle; withdrawing into the temple of Diana he would have plunged the dagger into his breast had not two of his friends, Pomponius and Licinius, wrested it from him. As the pursuers drew near, his friends dragged him towards the *pons Sublicius*, guarding behind him the narrow entrance to it until they were both cut down. Caius with a slave, Philocrates, fled, and not an arm was raised to defend him; had he obtained a horse he would have escaped; he called out for one as he fled, but those who were looking on contented themselves with encouraging him by voice and gesture, "as though he were running a race for some prize."[2] He took shelter in the grove of the Furies, and at his own command was stabbed by his slave, who then slew himself upon his master's corpse. Opimius had promised to pay its weight in gold for the head of the ex-tribune. A friend of the consul, Septimuleius, took out the brain and ran the cavity full of lead, demanding and receiving for it the 17 lbs. 8 oz. of gold which it weighed. The same reward had been offered for the head of Fulvius, but the persons who brought it in were poor men,

Fulvius.[1]

[1] The soldiers of Opimius had threatened to burn all that quarter of the city if the place of refuge of Fulvius were not made known to them. (App., *Bell. civ.*, i. 26.)

[2] CN. FOLV. M. CAL. Q. MET. Victory in a biga. Reverse of a denarius of the three families united--Fulvian, Caledian, Cæcilian. (Metellus.)

and received nothing. In the struggle of that day 3,000 men perished, and those who were not slain were later strangled in prison. The boy Fulvius was murdered in cold blood. The houses of the partisans of Caius were razed to the ground, their property confiscated, it was forbidden to their widows to wear mourning, and they went so far as to deprive of her dowry the wife of Caius (121).

By-and-by statues were erected in honour of the Gracchi, altars set up where they had been slain, and sacrifices and offerings

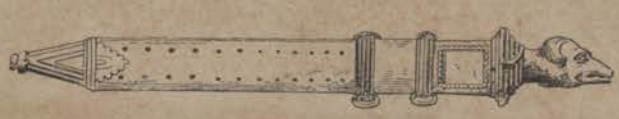
Ruins at Misenum. (Engraving from the *Bibliothèque nationale.*)

long kept them in public memory. This tardy recognition consoled Cornelia, too faithful perhaps to her austere character. She withdrew to her house at Cape Misenum, and there surrounded by envoys from kings and by learned men of Greece, she took pleasure in relating to her astonished guests the story of the life and death of her two sons, herself as unmoved and tearless as if she had been telling the story of some hero of ancient days. Sometimes, too, she told the story of her father, Africanus, and she would add, "The grandsons of this great man were my children. They perished in the temple and grove sacred to the gods. They have the tombs that their virtues merited, for they sacrificed their lives to the noblest of aims, the desire to promote the welfare of the people."

Shall the verdict of history endorse Cornelia's? Yes, since Rome, now become a world, could not preserve the constitution which served for the modest city of the Seven Hills. The Gracchi strove to effect these modifications by legal measures; they failed; presently the experiment was tried by force of arms. Caius was the precursor of the Cæsars in his struggle against the aristocracy and in the nature of his power, for the most important of all the imperial prerogatives was the tribunitian power, the same with which Caius was invested, the same also which in our days the Napoleons revived under the name of the *plebiscite*. His two tribunates were nothing less than a monarchy, but without the military element added by the emperors, which presently brought ruin on the empire. He constituted a popular "tyranny," using the word in its Greek meaning, and had he succeeded a civil power would have arisen, in the interests of citizens, allies, and provincials, above the faction of the nobles.[1]

Rome was now destined to struggle for a hundred years in the midst of murders, proscriptions, and ruins, against that inevitable solution of the problem of her destinies which by the civil wars became sanguinary, while Caius might have kept it pacific. But by whom was Rome forced into this *via dolorosa?* By those who inaugurated the era of revolutions in assassinating the two tribunes whose laws would have secured to the Romans peace and liberty for many generations. The violence against the Gracchi and their friends was destined to breed other violence, and justice being on the side of the first victims, the last expiation was to be undergone by the sons of their murderers. The logic of history decrees that every great fault, social or political, must have its punishment.

[1] In his treatise, *De la Propriété d'après le Code civil*, M. Troplong, speaking of the agrarian law, says (p. 97): "The idea was generous, just, useful, and in the good sense of the word, it was democratic. . . . . That Rome perished . . . . may be due to the fact that the policy of these great citizens was not heeded."



Sword found at Pompeii.

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